

H. Feyjoo y Montenegro

S I X

E S S A Y S

O R

D I S C O U R S E S

ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS:

The Balance of Aetrea, or
Upright Administration of
Justice.

Ambition in Sovereigns.

The Love of our Country,
and National Prejudice or
Prepossession.

The Semblance of Virtue, or
Virtue in Appearance.

The Virtue or Superior Ex-
cellence of Nobility, with
some Remarks on the Power
or Influence of High Blood.

The Machiavelianism of the
Antients.

Translated from the Spanish of FEYJOO,

By a GENTLEMAN.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. BECKET, ADELPHI, STRAND.

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DISCOVERIES

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Translated from the Spanish of
BY A. G. N. T. L. M. A. M.

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T H E
B A L A N C E O F A S T R E A ;
G R,

Upright Adminiftration of Juftice:

In a LETTER from an OLD JUDGE, to his SON
who was newly raifed to the Bench.

S E C T. I.

I. **I** don't know, my Son, whether to congratulate or condole with you on the information you give me, of his Majesty having honoured you with a Judge's robe. I contemplate you as placed in a ftate of flavery, which, although it is an honourable one, muft always remain and continue a flavery. Already you are neither mine nor your own, but belong to the public at large. The obligations of this charge fhould not only emancipate you from your father, but detach you

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from yourself also. There is an end of your considering your convenience, your health, or your ease; and you have only now to attend to the duties and discharge of your conscience; you should look upon your own good as a foreign concern, and regard that of the public as your own. You are already divested of neighbours, friends, or kindred; you have no country, and must have no regard for the ties of flesh and blood. Do you think I mean to say, you should cease to be a man? No, certainly; but I would have it understood, that the affections of the man should live in such a state of separation from the duties of the Judge, that there should not be the slightest commerce or correspondence between them.

II. I repeat again, that I am at a loss whether to condole with, or congratulate you on the event. I view your soul as exposed to the continual hazard of being lost; and I was on the point of saying, the office of a Judge affords proximate occasions for sinning through the course of a man's life. You may say this is a hard proposition; and I acknowledge it is; but what other inference can be drawn from that terrible sentence of St. John Chrysostom, which is in the following words: *It appears to me impossible that any of those who govern should be saved.* And what other thing could the religious

religious Pontiff, Pius the Vth, mean, when he said, that while he was a private Religious, he had great hopes of being saved, though when they made him a Cardinal he began to fear, but when they made him a Pope he almost despaired of salvation? If this is not a virtual asseveration, that the occupation of a ruler furnishes a continual and proximate occasion for sinning, I don't understand the expression. But it is true, that although this should be the case, the crime would be obviated, because the necessity of the public makes the exercise of such a function inevitable; but then the crime would only be obviated in such subjects, who feel in themselves, dispositions to perform the duties of such an office with rectitude and propriety; as for the others, I won't exculpate them. I don't understand that text of the Ecclesiastes as an advice or caution, but as a precept and injunction, which says, Don't solicit to be made a judge, unless you find yourself possessed with that virtue and fortitude, which is necessary to extirpate evil deeds,

III. He who doubts whether he is endued with a sufficient share of knowledge, or a necessary portion of health and constitution, to undertake so weighty a charge; he who does not find himself possessed of a robust heart, which is invincible to, and proof against, the promises and threats of the

great and powerful; he who feels himself enamoured with the beauty of gold; he who knows his sensibility liable to be wrought upon by the intreaties of domestics, friends, or relations, cannot, in my opinion, enter upon the office of a magistrate with a good conscience. I don't, although it is indispensably necessary, comprehend in this catalogue of requisites the virtue of prudence; because every one fancies he possesses it; but, if a man mistakes in this particular, I judge his error to be incurable.

IV. He who is cloathed with a robe, ought to keep his soul well fortified at all points, because in a variety of occurrences, there is no passion that may not be inimical to justice; and the suitors are very solicitous in examining where the defence is weak; even lawful affections are sometimes hostile to her. What is more right or proper than a man's tenderness for his wife? But how often has a man's affection for his wife, been the cause of warping the wand of justice.

V. I don't mean to inculcate, that a judge should be fierce, unfeeling, and harsh; but that he should be firm, spirited, and a man of integrity. It is rare, but not impossible, for a man to possess a soul of wax for the duties of private life, and a mind of brass for the administration of public ones;

ones; although the heart may be susceptible of its tenderneſſes, the ſacred caſtle of juſtice ſhould be inacceſſible to ſuch feelings. It is ſaid, that friendships may be permitted to approach even to the altar; but they ſhould not be ſo much as ſuffered to enter the doors of the temple of Aſtrea.

VI. I contemplate you, my Son, as having ſome advantageous diſpoſitions for exerciſing this office; you are diſinterreſted, an important quality in a judge; but that does not quiet my fears; for how can I be certain you will continue ſo in future? Diſinterreſtedneſs, like beauty, is an endowment and ornament of youth, and rarely accompanies life in old age. I have read but of two women who preſerved their beauty till ſeventy; the one was Diana of Poitiers, Dutcheſs of Valentine, who lived in the reign of Henry the II^d. King of France; the other was Aſpasia of Miletus, concubine of Cyrus King of Perſia. I don't know whether you can reckon many more men, who, left totally to their natural diſpoſitions, without the intervention or aſſiſtance of other helps, preſerved their contempt for gold till they arrived at that age. The ſoul fades with the body, and the narrowneſs and contractions of avarice are its wrinkles.

VII. The danger of people in exalted stations in the law, falling into this vice, is greater, because they are exposed to more frequent temptations. Elizabeth of England used to say, that the office of a Judge at his first elevation, seemed to fit on him like new cloaths, which appear tight and strait at the beginning, but after a little time they stretch and become easy and familiar. The same may be said of Judges in all other kingdoms. Many, who at first scruple to accept an apple, in the course of a few years, are capable of swallowing the whole orchard of the Hesperides; and you know the apples of that orchard were golden ones. The same thing happens to them that happens to rivulets, which rarely fall into, and are swallowed by the sea, with the scanty stock they contained in their first passages.

VIII. Let no caution, my Son, appear too great, to guard you against the treacherous attacks of avarice; this serpent, whose bulk in time increases without limits, is at first no bigger than a hair; I mean to say, they commonly begin with presents of such trifling value, that the refusing to accept them would be blamed by the world as affected nicety. But what follows? Why, that when they are once admitted, by the exertion of their power in the first entrances of the door of the will, they proceed to widen it by little and
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little, so that every day it becomes capable of receiving more and more. God defend us from a magistrate's setting about to enrich himself! because in such a case, he may be compared to the element of water, whose stock bears proportion to the contributions it receives; while it is a brook, it only receives fountains; afterwards becoming a river, it receives brooks; and when it arrives at being a sea, it receives rivers.

IX. It is not sufficient that you keep your own hands clean; but it is also necessary that you examine those of your domestics. The integrity of a magistrate requires, that he should adopt the practice of an active and vigilant matron, who not only takes care of the cleanliness of her own person, but looks also to the cleanliness of the rest of her household. This is not only an obligation you owe to your conscience, but is likewise a matter that concerns your reputation, because it is generally understood, that the inferior part of the family is a subterraneous conduit-pipe, through which, supplies are conveyed to the hand of the master; but in truth it happens in point of regalé or refreshment, as it happened to the fountain of Arethusa, which although it was received by a cavern in Greece, the place it fertilized was the land of Sicily. We read in Daniel, that the ministers of the temple ate the dainties which were presented

to the idol ; in the house of a magistrate, the idol eats the dainties which are presented to his ministers.

X. The apprehensions I am under, that you may one day be betrayed into this corruption, move me at present to give you an excellent caution as a preservative, against the temptation of gifts, which is, that you should consider any one, who attempts to gain your favour in this way, as a person who offers a direct affront to your honour ; for it is clear, that by such an action, he gives it to be understood, that you hold in your hands the scales of venal justice. There are two sorts of people in the world, who fall into the dangerous error, of mistaking injuries for courtesies ; women who receive presents from gallants, and ministers of justice who permit the reception of them from suitors ; for with respect to the givers, every present is meant as a subornation, otherwise why is not their liberality manifested to other people, as well as to those from whom they entertain expectations ? It can only be, because they consider what they give as an offering made to their interest ; and that, to which they affect giving the appearance of a courtesy, is at bottom nothing better than a bribe. He who makes presents to a lady, or a minister of justice, attempts their corruption by the act, and in his imagination supposes he has effected it. You ought therefore,
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my Son, to consider every one who attempts to gain your favour by such means, as an enemy to your conscience, and as a person dangerous to, and one who would injure your honour ; and you should look upon him as a man, more deserving of your contempt and indignation, than your courtesy.

XI. I have given the name of preservative to the foregoing reflection, because it is rather calculated to prevent the infection from getting footing in those, who are sound and in health, than to cure the disease, after it has once taken root. He who has contracted a habit of gorging himself with presents, is callous to the reproach of having put his decisions to sale.

XII. I am inclined to think, Spain is more free from this pestilence than other kingdoms ; at least in ministers of your class, this meanness has rarely been observed. It has even been remarked, that with us, the higher people have been raised on the seats of justice, they have seemed the further removed from the baseness of avarice.

XIII. Would to God, our tribunals were as deaf to recommendations, as they are untainted with bribes ! it is on this side, their credit is most tarnished in the public opinion. There is scarce a sentence given in a civil controversy, which the
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malice of grumblers, and the voice of neutral people, does not impute to have been the effect of some powerful recommendation. The presumption of the influence, which the protection of men of weight has with the Judges, is so prevalent, that many who have been despoiled by an unfair decision, and who are persuaded of the justness of their cause, are afraid to appeal, if they know their opponent has great connections.

XIV. We should hope, the world is greatly mistaken in this matter. The ministers of justice, as far as they are able, and they most commonly can do this, must discharge and comply with the duties of their function in judicial phrases, and according to the words of the law; and although there may have been positive promises made, when they come to the sentence, they must consult and conform to the books of jurisprudence, and not the letters of recommendation. God defend us, however, from the serious misfortune of the protector of either party, having, or ever being able to have, influence in the seats of justice! for then we may have reason to apprehend, that to the shame of the law, the motive of the conduct of the partial Judge may be betrayed by his countenance, and that the dread of such motive being known, may be the torturer who presses out and exposes the secret, or else, that the thing may be unravelled

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by conjectures, or proved by some transactions in the business ; and these are the sort of cases, which, after many years study, make people understand the law in a sense they never understood it before, and which, in the same instant, increases and lessens their esteem for the same authors, and causes the breath of favour to incline the balance, with which they weigh probabilities, to the side where there is the least weight in the scale. I remember that great lawyer, Alexander of Alexandria, in his treatise called *Dias Geniales*, says of himself, that he abandoned the profession of an advocate in disgust, from having observed in his own practice, that neither the wisdom or abilities of a counsellor, nor the goodness of a cause, were of any avail in courts, when the opposite parties were espoused by people of power.

XV. But excepting these instances, which have weight with those only, who had rather rise to the highest seats on the bench than ascend to heaven, other modes of favour in courts are trifling and of little use or consequence ; but to speak the truth, we ourselves give occasion to their being thought useful and of any consequence. If when a person of authority intercedes on behalf of a suitor, we give him hopes and encouragement ; or if our answers to such applications, are in terms which exceed what is necessary in a judicial reply ; and if afterwards,

afterwards, when that person obtains a sentence in his favour, we seem desirous, or behave so as to make it be thought, our suffrage was a compliment to the great man who interested himself in the suitor's behalf, in order that he should think he was obliged to us; we are the authors of this error in mankind, and the cause of the injury, which, in consequence of it, our credit suffers with the world.

XVI. This notion of the utility of recommendations, is an impediment to our business, as well as injurious to our reputation; for it is the occasion of our being interrupted with visits, and puts us under the necessity of answering letters of intercession, by which means we waste a great part of that time, which we ought to employ in study. If they knew they were taking all this pains to no purpose, they would not embarrass us with their applications, nor rob us of our time.

XVII. How then are we to act? That is easily determined; speak plain and undeceive all the world. Let them know, that the sentence depends upon, and is ruled by the law, and not by solicitations and private friendships; that we can serve no man at the expence of justice and our conscience; and that that which they call being favourable, the pretence with which they cover all their

their petitions, upon a practical examination of things, is a chimera; for a Judge can never shew favour, or at most the cases in which he can do it are metaphysical; even in doubtful and obscure cases, and in those where the probabilities are equal, the laws prescribe rules of equity, which we are strictly and rigorously bound to follow. Oh! but some cases are left to the discretion of the Judge: it is true, but they are not for this reason to be determined by his absolute will. Prudential maxims, and rules of equity, point out the road we should pursue; and it is not lawful for us to follow any other course, either for the sake of obliging great men or friends. When it is said, this or that is left to the will and pleasure of the Judge, it should not be understood to mean his absolute uncontrollable will, but to imply, that he is to be guided in his decision by the dictates of reason, and the principles of law. This definition, is conformable to the sense of the Latin verb *arbitror*, which signifies an act of the understanding, and not of the will.

XVIII. I am well aware, that objections may be made to this frank mode of acting: the first is, that we may be called blunt and ill-bred; but, besides that the reflection would be unjust, it would last no longer, than till it was generally known, we had resolved to adopt this method of acting,

acting, and till it was become common and familiar among us. While there shall be but one or two judicial ministers who act in this open ingenuous manner, their candid behaviour may pass among the ignorant for want of breeding and courtesy ; but if all the rest were to do the same, even the ignorant would become sensible, that what they had called want of breeding, was integrity ; and they would also be convinced, that this is beneficial to them, and a great saving both of money and trouble, which are both wasted in running after, and seeking for friends and patrons, whose assistance and protection is useless to them.

XIX. The second objection is, that judicial ministers would lose a great part of the respect and homage which is now paid them, it being certain, that civilities of this sort, are not so much the result of the reverence due to the character of a Judge, as the effect of the imagined dependance on his favour. It is established upon the credit of good authors, that Epicurus did not, as it is vulgarly thought, deny the existence of the deities, but only their influence or power to do good or harm ; but this was sufficient, to cause the tenet to be held as atheistical in practice ; for he who denies the power of the Gods, denies them adoration also. Men don't sow obsequies, but with the expectation of reaping a harvest of benefits,
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and dependance is the only stimulus or first mover to worship; therefore, when men come to consider the tribunal as the mere organ of the law, where every thing depends upon the intention of the legislature, and nothing upon the inclination of the Judge, the applications to the ministers of justice, would be very few and very slight.

XX. This objection would have great weight with those Judges, who desire to be regarded and addressed as deities: but do you, my Son, contemplate yourself as placed on the bench, and not on the altar; and remember, that you are not an idol destined to receive worship and offerings, but an oracle ordained to articulate truths. This is the manner in which you should explain yourself, and undeceive the world; assure the great of your respect, and your friends of your esteem; but intimate both to one and the other, that neither esteem nor respect can gain admittance into the cabinet of justice, because the fear of God, who is the door-keeper of the conscience, requires that they should remain in the anti-chamber.

XXI. But there may still rest with Judges a discretionary power of shewing courtesies, if not in points that concern the substantial parts of the cause, in the mode of administering justice; I mean,

mean, if not in the essence of the sentence, in the brevity of dispatch. This is an error, which I have observed some of our Judges to have fallen into; and I call it an error, because with regard to myself, I have no doubt of its being one. It is an obligation upon us, to give the quickest dispatch possible to causes, and we do not shew favour to him, whose business is done with all possible speed, but to him we do not dispatch with the same expedition, we do injustice. The preference given to people in priority of dispatch, is partiality; and the minister who is the author of it, ought to make good the damages occasioned by the delay to him who was next in turn; in this matter, attention should be had to the nature of the cause, to the time the suit was commenced, and to the injury that would attend procrastination in the decision of it.

XXII. With regard to this last circumstance, when there are not other reasons to forbid it, the poor should be dispatched in preference to the rich; and those who come from distant provinces, before those who live in the neighbourhood. St. Geronimo, in his comment on a passage of the Proverbs, says, that formerly courts of justice were placed at the gates of cities; which the Saint imagines to have been done, with a view of preventing the attention of strangers who come upon
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law business, and especially that of the rustics, from being taken up and confounded by the multitude of strange objects which present themselves to their sight, and by the bustle and hurry of the city; from hence it may be infered, that the dispatch was very quick, and that it was not necessary for them to take a lodging in town; but things are greatly altered now-a-days, and strangers who come from a great distance to prosecute their causes, are detained so long, that they in a manner become neighbours and inhabitants of the city. Nothing is so pernicious as the amazing delays of judicial proceedings; as formerly, they saw the tribunals at the gates of great towns, at present, we see intire towns built round the gates of the tribunals, because the slowness of dispatch increases the bulk of the causes in the office, and the number of suitors in and about the office-porch.

XXIII. I reflect with horror on the mischiefs which these delays occasion; for in consequence of the expence they create, it frequently happens that both the suitors are ruined, the vanquished is stripped and laid prostrate, and the conqueror has spent his all. There are litigations, which last as long as the four elements in man, that is to say, for the whole course of his life; and the result of them is the same, the ruin of the whole. O ter-

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minations of law ! you appear like the boundaries of the world in the opinion of Descartes, that is, indefinite.

XXIV. Even when there is nothing to wait for, and there is no occasion of delay, the cause is sometimes suspended for months together. My son, you are not ignorant of the rule of law laid down by Sextus Pomponius, which says, in the discharge of all our obligations, where there is no particular day prescribed or assigned for dispatching a business, we should make use of the present day. The practice of all tribunals should be conformable to this rule, and when things are prepared for trial, the decision should not be delayed a day, and the Judges should direct, that the preparations are made with all the expedition possible.

XXV. From what has been premised, it is evident, that a Judge can never properly receive from a suitor any compliment or acknowledgment, on account of having dispatched his cause, because he cannot be supposed capable of doing him any favour, and consequently is not entitled to any recompence. The ministers of justice ought to resemble the heavenly bodies, who bestow great benefits on the earth, although they receive nothing from it ; for it is their duty, and
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incumbent on them, to confer those benefits. They receive their reward and support from the great Sovereign of all, who has assigned them their stations and their duties, and the assistance of their light and their influence is a debt they owe to the inferior world; but the inferior world is not charged with obligations to them.

XXVI. Even the visit to return thanks, which after the suitor has got his cause, is made by him to the Judges, I look upon as superfluous. For what does he thank them? for having given him what belonged to him and was his own. They are entitled to no thanks for that; and if they have given him what was the property of another man, they deserve punishment.

XXVII. What has been said on the subject of brevity and dispatch, is equally pertinent to criminal as well as civil causes. The person accused has a right to be cleared if he is innocent, and his punishment is a debt due to the public if he is guilty; and it is generally expedient, for one or other of these parties to be pressing for dispatch. It is very clear, that proceeding with caution in criminal cases is necessary, lest you fall into the serious mischief, of punishing as guilty people those who are innocent. But standing still and doing nothing, is not proceeding with

caution ; neither is thinking no more of those in the dungeon, than of those in the grave.

XXVIII. Besides the reasons for dispatch, which are common to, and apply equally to both sorts of causes ; there is one of special note, and great weight, which points out why it is most necessary in criminal ones ; and that is, delay being frequently the cause of malefactors escaping without punishment. This happens by two ways, the first is, that by delaying the process, there is more time given to the culprits to contrive and execute their escape from prison, which when these fierce savages have effected, they are commonly seized with a rage, of recovering in a few days, the time they have been deprived of by their confinement, to commit outrages ; and they fancy they have a right to revenge themselves by new schemes of roguery, for the punishment they have undergone by having been chained and fettered. There is scarce an innocent person who they don't regard as their enemy, and those only who are their brethren in iniquity, are exempted from their fury and indignation.

XXIX. This is the common way of their revenging themselves in general, but their malice and resentment towards particular people is the most pernicious to the public ; those who are
most

most threatened with their vengeance, being such as have in any shape been instrumental in their confinement, or in having them brought to justice.

XXX. The second way, by which delays in criminal prosecutions afford occasions for delinquents to escape with impunity, is not so palpable, nor so obvious as the first, but in general is more successful, and oftener takes effect. I will explain what I mean. When a notorious crime is newly committed, all minds are sharpened against the offender, and filled with horror at the outrage. Even the most mild call out for punishment, and the injured person, invokes heaven and earth for it. The public in general seem filled with resentment, and breathe nothing but severity. All this indignation, in the course of a short space of time, begins to lessen, and by little and little, this fierce fire proceeds to vanish in smoke; and the further we advance from the æra of the fact, the less impression of the deed is left on the mind; and in our conversation on the subject, we begin to mix apophthegms of compassion with theorems of justice; and by so much the longer the cause is delayed, by so much the more our zeal abates; we pass from hot to lukewarm, and from lukewarm to actual cold. The suspension of half a year, changes the burning heats of July, to the

cool air and frosts of January. People breathe nothing but pity, and every thing seems in favour of the culprit, except his crime. The supplicants in his behalf are numerous, many from compassion, and some from friendship or interest. When the tempers of people are brought to this disposition, the culprit, who but a little before, in the universal opinion, was deemed deserving of a halter, is released from prison, without undergoing a punishment that is equal to a pat with the open hand.

XXXI. I have often wondered at the favourable manner in which criminals are sometimes treated, when there does not appear any reason, or motive, for being favourable to them; but it should be remembered, there is always a motive for bringing them to justice. God commands it, and the public safety requires it; and the community has a right to demand, that delinquents should be chastised; for the impunity of evil deeds multiplies the number of evil doers. In consequence of saving one malefactor from the gallows who is deserving of death, many innocent people may afterwards lose their lives, or their fortunes. O mercy ill understood! O impious compassion! O tyrannic pity! O cruel pity!

XXXII.

XXXII. I don't deny that criminals should sometimes be pardoned ; but then it should only be in those cases, where the public is as much, or more, interested in their forgiveness, than it is in their punishment. The public good is the true north, to which the wand of justice should always point. The services the guilty person has done to the commonwealth, or those which he may be expected to do to it, on account of his singular talents for doing them, are special and material considerations in such a case. The law furnishes precepts conducive to this end, in formal terms. Therefore, the death which Manlius Torquatus inflicted on his brave son, when he returned victorious, for having fought without orders, was contrary to the rules of equity. What more could have been done to one, who had returned vanquished, and who had no antecedent merit to plead which might entitle him to a pardon ?

XXXIII. Princes have a larger discretionary power in these matters, than their ministers of justice ; not because they can pardon according to their will and pleasure ; for they must be guided by their obligations to God and the commonwealth ; but because the general or common interests, are more proper objects for their consideration, than for that of particular Judges. With

regard to a sovereign, not only the personal services of the guilty individual, but those also of his near relations, such as his father, his wife, his brothers, and his sons, may furnish motives for conciliating a pardon, or for mitigating the punishment ; and this has always been the practice of the most illustrious princes. It is masterly policy, to inform generous minds by such instances of clemency, that they cannot only acquire merit for themselves, but for their relations also. Great benefit may be derived to the community from this incentive ; and many other methods of deriving advantages to the public, by a judicious dispensation of lenity or pardon, may be hit upon by princes, although it is not easy for me to point out or enumerate them.

XXXIV. In crimes committed through inattention or weakness, there is a large scope allowed for the exercise of pity or forgiveness. The laws themselves allot less punishments for such offences, which punishments the prince, in some cases, may totally and consistently dispense with. I will give an example. It having come to the knowledge of Pyrrhus king of the Epirots, that some young fellows in their cups had murmured against, and cast sharp reflections upon him ; he caused them to be brought into his presence, where he asked them, if it was true that they had said such and
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such

such things ; to which one of them, who was a candid spirited lad, answered, Yes, sir, it is true, that after having drank plentifully, we did say what you have mentioned ; and if we had drank more, we should have talked more in the same strain. Pyrrhus pardoned them, and in my opinion he acted wisely. It was a great mitigation of such a fault, that the offence was committed under a kind of perverted state of the understanding ; and as it was entirely personal against the King, his pardoning it had an air of generosity, which tended to augment the love and respect of his subjects, a consideration of great importance in all kingdoms. By this mode of proceeding, the public gained a great deal more, than it was possible it could lose by such a crime going unpunished.

XXXV. But waiving the particular circumstance of their being in liquor, which lessened the offence of those young fellows ; the shewing indulgence and lenity by Princes, to those who cast personal reflections on them, will always have a good effect ; because by acting in this manner, they manifest their clemency, and cause the reflection itself to be discredited. The evil-speaking of a few subjects, can't take from sovereigns any thing like the proportion of respect, which the opinion of their being clement and magnanimous, would gain them with all their other subjects. The delinquent
himself

himself would be put to shame by the pardon, because, if he considers it as an act of generosity and lenity, it proves to him that he murmured without reason; and if he thinks the gentleness proceeded from contempt, no other punishment could mortify him so much, or be better adapted; and this is the proper way of chastising insolencies of the tongue, because, by proceeding in any other manner, you would feed the vanity of murmurers, and beget in them a presumption that they were feared; you would also inflame their hatred, and stimulate their rashness. It has been remarked, that princes, who have been very solicitous in fishing out and punishing the murmurs of juntos of people, have increased those evils in their own time, and have eternized them to posterity. This is a Hydra, the number of whose heads is multiplied by vengeance and the knife, and who is suffocated by the fumes of contempt.

XXXVI. The behaviour of our gracious and magnanimous King Philip V. may serve as a pattern, for the application of this mixture of severity and clemency, which the virtue of justice requires of Princes. Inexorable with regard to those grave crimes that were to the prejudice of a third person, he always shewed a generous indulgence to those which only respected himself. In the civil wars of some years back, when the agitation

tation of the winds was such, as to cause even the rocks and mountains to shake; when the constancy of many wavered, and they sought pretences for loyalty in desertion itself; he winked at many offences of deeds, and pardoned all those of words, which did not relate to, or were not connected with, the deeds themselves. This augmented the love of all those hearts who were faithful to him, and in the end was productive of fidelity in the hearts of all men.

XXXVII. But to return to the subject of severity in punishing crimes, and the duties of a magistrate in that respect; I say, that severity is not only necessary for the good of the public, but that it is also beneficial to the criminal himself. It is a received opinion, that those who die by the hand of Justice, rarely go to a state of condemnation. All appearances persuade such a belief, and there are certain parts of written revelation, which seem to confirm the sentiment. What benefit then do you confer on a malefactor, who if he dies by the halter, takes his flight to a state of bliss; and who, if he afterwards loses his life in some of those adventures which are incident to his profession, is launched into perdition?

XXXVIII. With respect to certain sorts of crimes, in some instances where I have wished to see

see Judges very solicitous to inflict punishment, I have observed them very indulgent. I speak of those faults in the practice of the law, which are committed by people of the profession, and those who know the true state and secrets of causes, and who intervene as instruments in the prosecution of them; such as the advocate, the solicitor, or the attorney, to which we may add the witnesses also. The tribunal is a whole of such delicate contexture, that there is no integral part of it whatever, which is not essential. It is a machine, in which, a failure, false construction, or weakness of the most minute wheel, disorders all its movements. Of what avail is it, that the Judges are upright, if the proceedings and informations come adulterated to their hands and ears? The greater their integrity, the more certain in the issue would be the pronouncement of a false and unjust sentence; because the judgment would be founded, on the vitiated proceedings and testimony which had been laid before them. Among the Japanese, they punish with the utmost severity all false information which is given to Judges with respect to causes they are trying, even when it is preferred by a party interested. This appears to me excellent policy. The way to make the road to Justice smooth and secure, is to disincumber it of all impediments to the advancement of truth; and to do this, there is no alternative

alternative but that of punishing lyes with the utmost severity.

XXXIX. If it is objected, that this would be excess of rigour, because the punishment might exceed the proportion of the crime; I answer, that Lawyers should weigh crimes in a different manner from Theologians. The Theologian examines the intrinsic malice or evil of the act: the Lawyer attends to the consequences that may result to the public; and these may be important, although the fault at first sight may appear light and trifling. It is true, that the Theologian considers the consequences also, when it appears that the delinquent foresaw them, and in that case regards this circumstance as a proportionable aggravation of the crime *in foro conscientiae*. The Lawyer cannot, nor does it belong to him, to enquire whether the culprit foresaw them; for he is only to apply the remedy the law has prescribed to prevent the mischief; and thus, for the sake of example to the world at large, the offender is punished in the same manner as if he had actually foreseen the mischief.

XL. Let us now consider, that the falshoods and deceits, with which tribunals are environed, make the investigation of truth so difficult, that in some causes it is come at late, and in others never.

never. This is a most pernicious injury to the public, for the tediousness and difficulty of the verification gives breathing-time for the ill intentioned to devise and concert all sorts of wickedness. What remedy then can you apply to this evil, but that of punishing rigorously every kind of judicial deceit? The most pernicious loss or disadvantage to a commonwealth does not consist so much in there being a great number of members in it, who do not fear God, as it does in those members who do not fear God, not fearing the magistrate.

XLI. I am not surprized that there are so many false witnesses, when I observe the lenity that is shewn to them. Among the eastern nations, according to Strabo, they used to cut off their feet and their hands. And Heraclides says, that among the Lycians, they used to confiscate all their effects, and sell them for slaves. Alexander of Alexandria relates, that the Pyfidians threw them headlong from a high precipice. In the Helvetic history, we read, that the magistrates of Bern put to death two witnesses by boiling them in oil, for having deposed falsely, that one citizen owed another a large sum of money.

XLII. When I contemplate how necessary rigour is in such matters, none of these punishments

ments strike me with horror. The most just and reasonable punishment for this mischief, and the best adapted for the purpose, is the *Lex Tallionis*, which was dictated by the Divine mouth, and which God ordained to be established among the people of Israel, and which is also recommended by various texts of the civil law. It was in use in Spain, according to the practice of the antient law, called the law of Toro. But ultimately, on account of its not being adaptable to all cases, Philip the II^d. leaving it in its full vigour with respect to capital cases, where the false witness was to suffer the same punishment, which, if his evidence had taken effect, was to have been inflicted on the person accused; I say, with this exception, he ordained for all other cases of perjury, that the delinquent should be exposed to public shame and disgrace, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the galleys. But when will these laws be put in execution? I don't know whether, in the long course of my life, I have once seen the application of them. What most commonly happens is, that just as they are on the point of determining on the sentence, Pity violently and abruptly enters, and makes her appearance in the court; and upon contemplation of this most serene lady, the Judges, instead of public shame and perpetual confinement in the galleys, decree a fine or pecuniary punishment.

XLIII. The words of God to Moses, when he spoke to him of false witnesses, as related in the ninth chapter of Deuteronomy, are very remarkable; he says, *non misereberis ejus*. No, Moses; have no tenderness, no compassion, nor any bowels or pity for such. The decree seems rigid, and so it does; but it is absolutely necessary also. With a false witness, all should be rigour, without the least mixture of clemency: *non misereberis ejus*. And so it is fit it should be; for if it was otherwise, who would be safe in their property, their honour, or their lives? This is not in reality abandoning or losing sight of compassion, but fixing your attention to it on the proper objects; it is turning the eyes of pity from a guilty individual, and placing them on an innocent multitude.

XLIV. The same sort of punishment, which is inflicted on a false witness, having regard to proportioning the quantum of it to the nature or degree of the offence, should be applied to all those, who deceive, or in any shape procure deceit to be practised on Judges, in the business of trying a cause. It is necessary, in order to insure justice, to smoothe the way by which truth is to advance to the tribunal, although it should be done with fire and sword.

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All that would be expended in rigour on this side, would be saved with interest on the other. By so much the more the proof of offences is facilitated, by so much the less will the number of them be; and the less frequent the sad spectacle of executions is, so much the less will the innocent suffer. Dispatch in civil causes, is also a matter of great importance, and should be added to the catalogue of these utilities.

XLV. On this account, I am of opinion, that no indulgence, or remission whatever, should be allowed at the instance of an advocate, upon a suggestion of false citations, or mistakes in terms of law (leaving however such cases to discretion, which may be attributed to the equivocal meaning of words, or accidental omissions); but abstracted from this exception, such attempts, if you consider them, are contrary to the virtue and essence of justice, and should not be permitted to succeed.

XLVI. Neither should the advocate escape without severe punishment, who espouses causes which are evidently unjust; and I think the most proper penalty which could be inflicted in such cases, would be a long suspension from the exercise of his function; and a Solicitor should be treated in the same manner, who raises imperti-

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nent difficulties, and makes frivolous objections, with a view of creating delay. But, O pernicious lenity! already these serious offences, which are contrary to good faith and the true spirit of law, are judged to be sufficiently punished by a verbal reprehension. This is a weak bridle, to curb and restrain the impulses of avarice, ambition, love, fear, and hatred, five enemies of justice, who alternately, according to the power or influence of the parties to the cause, incite judicial ministers to violate the chastity of their office.

XLVII. We in all parts hear complaints against the proceedings of Justices, their clerks, and other attendants on them. I believe, if all the delinquents of this class were punished according to their deserts, we should see an infinite number of the wands and pens of Spain converted to oars. These people are accused of, and supposed to make a trade of their profession. If all be true that is said of them, it seems as if the Devil, who after his own manner is always endeavouring to imitate the works of piety and benevolence, upon seeing the church had founded some convents of religious Mendicants, for the benefit and salvation of souls, had a mind to found in these gentry, a Mendicant irreligion, for the perdition of them. Their duty is to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, thieves and robbers; their practice
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is, instead of taking the thief, to take something of or from him; and there are few delinquents who are not suffered to go at large, and with impunity, provided they have something large to bestow for being winked at. It is very difficult to detect collusions of this sort; but in proportion to this difficulty, should be the rigour of punishing them. If out of a great number who practise these iniquities, you should be only able to prove the guilt of one, it would be necessary to proceed with such severity against that one, as might terrify all the rest; that if they are not alarmed by the frequency of the punishment, they should be made to dread the weight of it.

XLVIII. Having before touched upon mulcts or pecuniary punishments, I will here frankly make known to you a reflection, which many years ago occurred to me on this mode of punishing, and which occasioned me to look upon it in no very favourable light. I say; I have considered, that the burden of the mulct is not only loaded on the shoulders of the guilty, but many times sits equally, if not more heavy, on those of the innocent. A father of a family, with a scanty income, commits a crime, and by way of chastising him, he is fined a hundred ducats. The subtraction of this sum, is not felt by him only who was guilty of the offence, but by his wife and his

children also ; and they are those who commonly suffer the most ; for as every one loves himself better than his nearest relations, and the delinquent being master of the house, he keeps as large a share of the good things it contains for his own use as he thinks proper, and seldom curtails himself of the gratifications he enjoyed before, either with respect to food, raiment, or diversions. The saving to make good the sum taken from him, is pinched out of the rest of his household. His own expences are the same, and the inconvenience occasioned by the deduction is chiefly borne by his wife and children. Don't be surprized then, that I look with an unfavourable eye on a punishment, the greatest portion of which falls more on the innocent than the guilty. I confess, however, that many times this is unavoidable, and the levying pecuniary penalties established by law, for certain offences and neglects, is inevitable ; besides which, there is a necessity to distrain for money, to defray the expences of law charges. What can be done then in this case ? Why, you can only determine, to reduce this mode of punishment, within as narrow a compass as possible.

XLIX. The honour of the Judges also requires this should be done, because the vulgar, when they see mulcts laid on with a heavy hand, and
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don't perceive the money arising from them applied to purposes of public benefit, such as the building of bridges, the repairing of highways, the making of aqueducts, and in the aid of hospitals for the poor, &c. they easily persuade themselves, that the Judges are interested in the imposition of fines; and although Judges may sometimes be indiscreet and rash, it is necessary to rescue them from those gross imputations, when it can conveniently be done.

L. When delinquents have no families, and the consequences of depriving them of their money are only felt by themselves, no punishments appear to me more rational and proper than pecuniary ones, and especially when the nature of the offence does not demand a more severe chastisement. In the first place, it is not a sanguinary punishment, and is more consonant to the feelings of compassion, than one that is tinged with blood, both with respect to him who pronounces the sentence, and him to whom it is applied. Secondly, despoiling an evil-disposed man of his money, is disarming of vice, as it deprives him of the weapons with which he was enabled to do mischief. Thirdly, if the money is expended for the good of the public, the community will derive a double advantage from this mode of punishment, as some-

what of temporal benefit will be added by it, to a well-adapted and exemplary application of justice.

LI. I now, my Son, have told you my sentiments on all that has occurred to me as most essential in judicial administration. If, upon seeing me so scrupulously tenacious on the side of justice, it shall appear to you that I mean to erase clemency out of the catalogue of virtues, you are mistaken. I know the excellence of this virtue, and even lament, that in our ministry there is but small scope for exercising it. I venerate this divine quality, which, on account of its elevated and sublime nature, I contemplate, as superior to the sphere of our jurisdiction. I call it divine, by reason of its active power to remit penalties decreed by the laws, which is an authority or prerogative almost peculiarly belonging, and proper to God alone. He, as supreme master, can pardon all sorts of crimes: Kings, as next to him in sovereignty, can pardon some; but the hands of their inferior ministers, are tied in all cases; for he who is subject to the laws, can never be vested with a power to arbitrate and dispense forgivenesses.

LII. It is true, that where the law is obscure, we have authority to interpret and construe it in a benign sense; but in this construction, we should

should not lose sight of the exigence of the public safety, nor the dictates of natural equity; and acting in this manner, is not clemency but justice. We may also in virtue of the principle which is called Epikeyan, that allows of a wise and moderate interpretation of the law, lessen, or even in many cases omit, the penalties which the law decrees. This also is not lenity but justice, because upon such occasions, we are rather obliged to conform to the intention of the legislature, than the letter of the law; and such cases frequently occur in small offences, because, upon an examination of the nature of these things, it often appears to the eye of Prudence, that greater inconveniencies would attend the punishing, than the tolerating them. Following the letter of the penal law, without admitting any exceptions, even in those cases where the legislature could not intend, nor prudence suppose it was meant to bind, is what is called justice in extreme, or *summum jus*, which with great reason is termed extreme injustice; therefore, acting contrary to the letter of the law in these instances, is likewise not clemency, but justice. Aristotle, who very well understood the nature of things appertaining to Ethics, judges the Epikeyan, to be a principle, or part of justice. From all that has been said, it may be inferred, that requesting favour or compassion of a Judge, or supposing

him capable of shewing any in the discharge of his duty, is an absurdity, and calling things by improper names; for if he acts according to the law, reasonably and rightly understood, he does justice; if contrary to it, he does injustice. In what are called *casos omisso*s, and when the law is obscure, there are general rules for interpreting it and supplying the defects, which interpretations have the force of laws; so that there is no middle path between justice and injustice, for a Judge to walk in; because there are no means, by which he can act conformable to law, and contrary to law. God keep you.

A M B I T I O N

I N

S O V E R E I G N S.

S E C T. I.

I. **T**HE most unjust adoration the world bestows, is that which is given to, and received by conquering Princes, they being only deserving of the public hatred; while living, mankind pay them a forced obedience, and when dead a courteous applause; the first is necessity, the second folly.

II. What is a conqueror but a scourge, which the divine anger has sent among us for our chastisement?

tisement? What, but an animated pestilence, both to his own kingdom, and those of the Princes his neighbours also? A malignant star, which rules and influences nought but murders, robberies, desolations, and conflagrations; a comet, which equally threatens the destruction of cottages and of palaces; and, to sum up the whole, a man who is the enemy of all other men, because in the prosecution of his ambitious views, he would deprive all mankind of their liberty, and take from many their lives and fortunes?

III. In this, as in many other things, I admire the superior judgment of the Chinese. Isaac Vossius affirms, that in the annals of those people, they do not celebrate warlike, but pacific Princes; neither do they triumph in future ages, or acquire the applauses of posterity, who have by their arms added new dominions to the state, but those who have governed with justice and moderation, the territories which descended to them by inheritance. This is applauding with judgment,

IV. I don't deny, that valour, military skill, and other endowments peculiar to conquerors, are estimable; but only mean to inculcate, that when they are accompanied with a tyrannic use, they cause those who make such an application of them, to become objects of abhorrence and detestation.

detestation. There never was any man eminent for feats of wickedness, who was not endued with great qualities of body and mind ; at least, they are rarely deficient in those of robustness, industry, and bravery : but who, on this account, would employ himself in celebrating, or becoming the panegyrist of, malefactors ?

V. It is not comparison, but identity, which I mean to propound and enforce ; for truly those great heroes, who are so celebrated by the trumpets of fame, were in reality nothing better than malefactors in a high form. If I was to set about writing a catalogue of the most famous rogues who have figured on the theatre of the world, I should place at the head of it, Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar.

VI. No one had a juster sense of his situation in this respect, nor made a more candid acknowledgment of his profession and occupation, than Antigonus King of Asia. When he was in the zenith of his conquests, a philosopher dedicated a book to him which he had just finished, the subject-matter of which was, an encomium on the virtue of justice. As soon as Antigonus read the title of the book, he smiled, and said, it is certainly very *à propos*, to dedicate a treatise in commemoration

memoration of the virtue of justice to me, who am robbing all the world of every thing I can.

VII. And although, neither Alexander, nor Cæsar, ever made so candid a confession, they manifested sufficiently, that they were stung with the remorse, and affected with the bitings, of their own consciences. The first, shewed the influence these feelings had over him, in the instance of the temper and forbearance, with which he suffered the pirate who fell into his hands, to upbraid him with being a greater and more scandalous pirate than himself; for if Alexander had not been conscious that the man spoke truth, the consequence of his boldness would have been very terrible to him. The second displayed it, in his perplexities at the crisis of passing the Rubicon; it being most probable, that intrepid soul was not withheld so much by the contemplation of the dangerous undertaking he was going to engage in, as by the sense of the crime he was about to commit.

S E C T. II.

VIII. In reality, conquering Princes are so totally bad, that they are not even good to themselves. They are bad neighbours, as is notorious; they are bad to their subjects, who in the end are equal sufferers with the others; because by the excessive

cessive contributions that are extorted from them, they are drained of their property, and in the obstinate wars in which their Princes engage, are deprived of their lives. It is true they conquer; but ten battles gained, cost more men to a nation than two or three lost. If we were to add to this, the loss incurred in consequence of the neglect and decay of arts, manufactures, commerce, and agriculture; at winding up the bottom, you will find, that with the exception of a few military men, who have been exceedingly fortunate and successful, or whose services have been liberally rewarded, and also with that of a few others, who have enriched themselves by plunder, or the spoils of their own country; the conquerors are left in as bad a situation as the vanquished.

IX. These ambitious spirits, bring on their subjects another injury which is sufficiently serious, though less noticed than the former; and that is, that being totally occupied with the idea of aggrandizing their power by all possible ways and means: they don't only endeavour to augment it externally, and among strangers, but also internally, and among their own subjects. They are not only desirous of ruling over the most vassals they can, but are also anxious to domineer the most they can over their own subjects. It is easier to satisfy ambition by this second method, than by the first;
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for by adopting it, without an addition of subjects, he, who will disembarraß himself of the restriction of laws, may form an empire without limits; and an empire reduced to despotism, if, instead of estimating it by the number of those who are to obey, you make the computation according to the number of things that may be commanded, is an infinite one.

X. Finally, conquering Princes are evils to themselves; for as the dropscial thirst of accumulating new subjects is never satiated, the anxieties of their hearts are never quieted: *Plusque cupit, quo plura suam demittit in alvum.* Their backs are turned on all they have acquired, and they turn their eyes on what remains for them to acquire. From hence it follows, that this last being always in their view, has more power to inquiet their minds by irritating their appetite, than the other has to calm their souls by insinuating the happiness of possession, and the pleasure of enjoyment; and we may add to this anxiety, the dread of poison or the knife, which are the ordinary finishers of the lives of conquerors.

XI. There only remains to them, as the fruit of all their labours and toils, a single good, which they can't enjoy, and therefore should not be reckoned to them as a benefit; that is, their names
being

being celebrated in future ages; a tribute, which is paid to their ashes by the folly of mankind, and than which no tribute is more unjust. If the remembrance of conquerors was to be recorded in phrases dictated by the understanding, they would be described in terms of execration, not applause. Whoever sets about celebrating a Nimrod, an Alexander, or a Romulus, may with equal reason, employ himself in celebrating a tiger, a dragon, or a basilisk. I find the same qualities in the three eminent heroes, as in the three furious wild beasts, to wit, a great strength and power to commit mischief, and a great inclination to do it.

XII. I can't refrain from laughter, when I reflect on the Romans, who were masters of the world, being vain of fixing the origin of their empire in Romulus. There was nothing in the deeds or character of this man, which could reflect lustre on his descendants. If you look to his birth, you will find that his mother was nothing better than a common prostitute. If you consider his life and profession, you will find that he was a daring and enterprising robber, who, being made captain of others like himself, erected his infamous gang into a republic. The rape of the Sabines, if the story is true, proves that Romulus, and all his followers, were looked upon

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as despicable and vile, and as a nuisance, by all Italy, because no other people chose to give them wives, or to intermarry with them; and it was necessary, in order to have women, that they should steal, and take them by violence. The life of Romulus was taken away by the same ministers he himself had raised; they not being able to bear with, or endure him. But such is the blindness of the world, that the same person who was deemed unworthy to live among men, and who was put to death on that account, is presently afterwards placed among the deities.

XIII. Other great conquerors met with the same lot; they were abhorred while living, and worshipped when dead. Nimrod was the first object of idolatry. They changed the name Nimrod, which signified rebel, into that of Belo, Baal, or Baalin, which signifies Lord. This is the Jupiter Belus of antiquity. Alexander fell a victim to poison, from the resentment of Antipater, and presently there were victims sacrificed on the altars to Alexander. They had scarce murdered Cæsar in the capital, as an enemy to his country, when they venerated him in Heaven, as the tutelar deity of the republic. The raising men to the rank of deities, was a great error in the Gentiles; but the raising those to that rank, who on account of their vices should have

have been degraded from the rank of men, was a much greater.

S E C T. III.

XIV. Those who have a just idea of the Deity, can't fall into so gross an error; but we don't on that account cease to err. It is true, we do not worship conquerors as deities, but we celebrate them as heroes. What is this, but debasing so noble an epithet? True heroes, are wrought and fashioned by virtue, and therefore, we should reject all those as spurious and ill-made, which are fabricated in the workshops of ambition. A great and a bad man are contradictions in terms. Agesilaus answered wisely, to one who was extolling the greatness of the King of Persia, and at the same time took occasion to insinuate a remark on the smallness of the kingdom of Sparta, compared to the Persian empire. His reply was: *He only can be greater than me, who is better than me.* He could not have spoke more to the purpose, if he had read the celebrated saying of St. Austin, in the following words: *In his, quæ non mole, sed virtute, præstant; idem est majus esse, quod melius esse. With regard to those things, which are estimated, not by the bulk, but by the virtue or excellence of them, that is greatest, which is best.*

XV. Let a Theodosius, a Charles the Great, a Godfrey of Bullon, a George Castriotus, be celebrated as heroes; and, in fine, all those in whom Fortune assisted Valour, and Valour Justice; those, who only drew their swords in the cause of Heaven, or for the good of the public; those, who in wars take to themselves the toil and the danger only, and leave untouched as the property of others, the fruits and acquisitions; those, who are pacific by inclination, and warriors through necessity; finally, all those, who, as an example to posterity, have by their actions, impressed an idea on the minds of men, that they were just, clement, wise, and animated Princes, in whose sceptres justice reigned, and whose swords never wounded their own consciences.

XVI. But discard from the stock of heroes, those crowned Tigers called conquering Princes, and let them be numbered with the delinquents. Throw down their statues, and translate their images, from the Palace to the dens of wild beasts, that the copies at least, may be placed among company, and in such a situation, as suited the characters of the originals. I will in this place give a general trait or description of all conquering Princes, which I find delineated in very lively colours, in the words of a Prince on his death-bed,

to

to whom they gave this epithet, which was] William the First of England.

XVII. This Prince, in that last stage of life, in which a man finding himself on the verge of eternity, begins to see things in their true light; and at the period of time, when the eyes of the soul open, with the same pace with which those of the body proceed to shut; and when the thoughts of his past victories gnawed his conscience, without feeding his ambition. At this crisis, either from motives of repentance, despair, or from a desire to unburthen himself, after reflecting with horror on the sum of his past actions, in the presence of many nobles who surrounded his bed—He made this confession: *I have hated the English, I have dishonoured their Nobility, I have mortified and oppressed the people, and have been the cause of the death of infinite numbers, by famine and the sword; and to sum up the whole, I have desolated this fine and illustrious kingdom, by the murder and destruction of thousands and tens of thousands of its inhabitants.* In these few lines, are painted, in their true colours, the exploits of that conqueror; and the same tints, would serve to delineate those of most others who have been dignified with that epithet.

XVIII. I had almost said all ; for as I observed before, the dropfical thirst of rule and dominion, which is a disease common to all conquerors, inclines them to aggrandise and extend their empire, with respect to foreigners ; and also, to enlarge and increase their power among their own subjects. The ambition that agitates them, not only makes them pant to beat down the boundaries of the crown, but those of justice also. Not content to govern by law, they aspire at despotism. They look upon equity as an impediment to, and a restriction of their grandeur, and can only find enlargements proportioned to the views of their souls, in tyranny. That kingdom is in an unhappy state, where he who rules and presides over it, has his head filled with this caprice. The misfortune is, that many are poisoned with these notions and dispositions, who are no conquerors, nor entertain the least thoughts of being such, unless it is in the subjugation of their own subjects.

XIX. This is a species of conquest, the most odious, and the most cheap ; for it is not acquired by valour, but by craft and cunning ; not by the fatigues of the field, but by the cabals of the cabinet. But notwithstanding they conquer their own subjects, and render them more submissive,

missive, and by binding liberty with stronger and heavier chains, convert vassalage to slavery; they should remember, that dominion is only hereditary, for so long as it is conducted with justice; but that when it comes to be exercised with violence, it is usurpation. But that is an unhappy harvest, which ambition reaps by such means. How is a Prince benefited, if, by putting the bodies of his subjects under a hard state of servitude, he loses their souls, and alienates their affections? He loses the best part of his subjects, which is their love, and gets in return for it a small portion more of fear; and he estranges from him their hearts, by oppressing their breasts. He deprives himself of the greatest sweet or pleasure of reigning, which consists in seeing his legal commands obeyed with chearfulness and inclination. What delight can the prospect of a government afford, where you contemplate every vassal, as a fierce animal, who supports with indignation the chain that confines him? What security can a Prince have against the invasions of foreign powers, who has made his subjects disaffected to him? Or what security against the intrigues and resentment of his own people, whom, by his absurd conduct, he has made angry, and weaned their affections from him? The monarchs of the east can best answer these queries, and tell, how by affecting to be so much the arbiters of the lives of their sub-

jects, the subjects frequently have erected themselves, into being the arbiters, of the lives of their Princes.

S E C T. IV.

XX. The blame of this abuse, whenever it happens, lies at the doors of ill-intentioned ministers and vile flatterers. These are interested in extending the acts of government beyond their bounds, because they expect to be partakers in the sway and emoluments resulting from a stretch of power; and they endeavour to gain the favour of the Prince, by insinuating to him, that government being all force or seduction, the most easy and eligible method of ruling is by the King's pleasure, and that this, at the same time, would be the most likely means of raising the King's authority to the highest pitch of elevation and perfection. With this view, they also are continually representing to him, that total independance is essential to a crown, and that laws and customs are unworthy restrictions upon sovereigns; that a monarch is the more respectable, the more absolute he reigns; and that the just medium of the King's authority, is the King's will. That the dignity of the crown is by so much the more exalted, by so much the more the people are depressed and kept under. And to sum up the whole: that a King is a deity upon earth, which
maxim

maxim they enforce so strongly, that as far as it is in their power, they would make him forget there is another superior in Heaven.

XXI. A story related by John Reynaldo de Segrais in his anecdotes, is very applicable to the present purpose. When Louis the XIVth of France was but fifteen years old, some flatterers, were one day entertaining him at court, with a recital of, and endeavouring to instill into him, such maxims of tyrannic policy as we have been just mentioning, though I believe if he had been five or six years older, the least punishment he would have inflicted on them for it, would have been banishing them from his presence and court for ever; but the want of experience, joined to his judgment not being then matured, and the ardour of his lively spirit, occasioned him to listen to them with pleasure, as their relations were suited to the grandeur of his heart, and his ideas of unlimited power. Marechal d'Etre, an antient man, of great wisdom and experience, was at the same time standing at a little distance from the King, and listening with the highest indignation, to the language of those flatterers. In the course of their conversation, they came to talk of the Ottoman Emperors, and spoke with great approbation of those monarchs being the despotic masters of the lives and fortunes of their

vassals. This is reigning in the true sense of the word, said Louis; they must certainly be happy Princes; and he spoke this in a manner, which indicated his good liking of that mode of government. His words pierced through the heart of the good Marechal, who, reflecting on the pernicious consequences that would result from his adopting such principles, advanced quickly up to the King, and intrepidly said to him: *But, Sir, I must inform your Majesty, that within my remembrance, two or three of these Emperors have been strangled by the hands of their own subjects.* Marechal Villeroi, the worthy guardian and governor of the young King, who was at some distance, but had overheard all that passed; in a transport of joy, broke through the croud to get at d'Etre, whom he publicly embraced, and gave him the most cordial thanks for so opportune and useful a caution. Would to God, that there was always ready at the side of Princes, some man of such generous and liberal sentiments, to apply the antidote, when flattery in the alluring gilded cup of grandeur, presents to them the poison of tyranny.

S E C T. V.

XXII. The tender age of Princes, is the most susceptible, of imbibing salutary or pernicious maxims,

maxims, and the impressions of childhood, take deep root in the soul, which, according to the cultivation it receives then, produces fruit in future; and it very seldom happens, that this rule is known to fail; for the good or bad images which are impressed at that time, are scarce ever effaced.

XXIII. Therefore the election of guardians, who are to direct and regulate the management of Princes in their infancy, is a matter of the utmost importance to kingdoms; and the choice of proper maxims, wherewith to inspire their pupils, demands the most serious attention of the guardians.

S E C T. VI.

XXIV. The soul then, in the state of non-age, receiving impressions like wax, and retaining them like brass; I repeat once more, that the inspiring young people with wholesome maxims in their tender years, is a thing of the utmost importance. The method of education should be thus laid out: to begin with religion, to proceed next to ethics or morality, and to finish with politics. In these three parts, there is an admirable connection. Religion (which we don't speak of here as a special virtue, but only with relation
to

to the firm faith contained in it, and the truths it persuades) informs the understanding of the greatness and goodness of God, and disposes the heart to love him. Ethics, or moral instruction, directs all our actions, and causes them to conspire unanimously to promote this end, serving at the same time, as a vehicle to convey, and as an ultimate disposer to the practice of the most sound policy; or, to speak more properly, the morality of a King, with relation to his kingly office, is no other thing but policy itself, taken in a general and comprehensive sense; because that consists, in a combination or assemblage of all those virtues, which conduce or lead to the exercise of good government.

XXV. The reading of good books is very useful, to instruct Princes in the maxims of sound policy. Though which are the good books? I believe very few. Those which contain sound doctrine are infinite; but what signifies their informing, if they don't stimulate or move? The most difficult part of morality, does not so much consist in coming at a knowledge of what is right, as in exciting and moving an effectual inclination to practise it. There are books of short sentences, and abounding with affectation, (in the style of Seneca, whom a certain Emperor called sand without lime) which tingle in the ear, but their echo
never

never reaches the heart. There are others, filled with texts and pulpit conceits, which instead of illustrating confound, and instead of moving, become tiresome and surfeiting. There are others again, which abound with the sentences of Thucydides, Polybius, Tacitus, Livy, and Salust, intermixed with a number of historical passages. I shall say of all these, as Apelles said of a pupil of his, who had painted Helen with very little beauty, but in a very costly dress stuck full of jewels: *Cum non posses facere pulchram, fecisti divitem. As you was unable to make her handsome, you have made her rich.* These forced and unnatural ornaments, with which erudition in the books that treat of it, dress virtue, do not conduce to fire the minds of those who read them, with the love of her. He only will accomplish this end, who has the art of painting in lively colours, her native beauty; and who has the address and genius, to impress on the understanding, a clear and agreeable idea, of the magnificence of her charms.

XXVI. But better than the best books, is good conversation. The instruction which is communicated by means of the voice, is natural, that which is conveyed by writing, is artificial; the one is animated, the other dead; consequently, the first will be efficacious and active, the second languid

guid and faint. The tongue writes on the soul, as the hand on paper. That which we hear, is conveyed to us immediately and in the first instance, from the mind of him, from whom the instruction proceeds; that which we read, is the copy of a copy. If Princes in their childhood, were daily attended by discreet and good-intentioned people, who under the colour of amusing and entertaining them, were to instruct them; any one might venture to be bound, for their future good behaviour and wise conduct. The learning insinuates itself deepest, which is conveyed under the veil of diversion; and as that nourishes the body best, which we eat with desire and an appetite, so that which we listen to with delight, is most improving to the soul. The word instruction is unpleasing to children, therefore it is necessary as far as we are able, to take away the name, and leave or preserve the substance of the thing; and this is much more necessary to be done in the case of Princes, because from their early time of life, either their own vanity, or the flattery of other people, inspires them with a notion, that persons of their rank and station have no need of learning. The rules of equity and civil jurisprudence, conveyed under the disguise of engaging and entertaining relations of the conduct and management of just Princes, who by acting well, attained the accomplishment of all their wishes

wishes with respect to foreign concerns, and acquired the adoration of their own subjects at home, and the admiration of all strangers; I say, if improvement was insinuated into them in this way, by some person whose conversation was pleasing to them, and who had the address to introduce it, not as if he was instructing, but entertaining them; it would be the best method of ingrafting in their minds, plants of the choicest quality, from whence in time you might expect to gather excellent fruit. For this reason, the wise Bishop of Cambray, composed for the education of the Duke of Burgundy, whose preceptor he was, a collection of pleasing fables, in the stile and manner of such tales, with which old women are accustomed to entertain children, and which children for their amusement are used to relate to one another; in these, he in natural and easy language, suited to their capacities and comprehensions, conveyed all the precepts which compose the most christian policy.

S E C T. VII.

XXVII. All the lessons however, which are given to Princes, should be calculated to train them to, and make them enamoured with those virtues, which may be of the most consequence, and the most useful to them, both as Princes and
men;

men; above all, regard should be had as a matter of the utmost importance, to implanting in them, the feelings of humanity and moderation of spirit, which virtues, as being diametrically opposite to, are the best counterpoises to the vice of ambition. Other vices, may be prejudicial to themselves, or injurious to particular individuals; but ambition, or the inordinate lust of dominion and controul, are pernicious, and evils to a whole kingdom. There is no doubt, but an unjust or a cruel Prince, is extremely abhorrent, though with all this, if you attend to the mischief these vices produce, you will find, that that occasioned by ambition, far exceeds the other; for on account of its being most generally felt, it is by far the greatest. Injustice and cruelty, are exercised on determined individuals, but ambition oppresses all. Or we should express it better, by saying, the unjust and cruel, is cruel and unjust to some particular people; but the ambitious, is unjust and cruel to the whole community. These are the ordinary steps and progressions of ambition. It begins by injustice, goes on to rigour, and ends with cruelty. The Prince is unjust to a state, who, by extending his demands beyond the limits of right reason, is desirous of burthening his subjects more than the rules of equity permit. But what follows this oppressive mode of conduct? Why that the subjects, as soon as it is introduced,

duced, begin to be dissatisfied and complain ; and that the Prince, regarding their complaints and applications for redress, though couched in never so submissive terms, as affronts and injuries, begins to direct chastisements. Measures of rigour are now determined on ; and what follows the execution of them ? Why, that the clamours and complaints grow louder, and that the cries of the oppressed in the ears of the King, sound like the voice of rebellion. Upon this, the rigour, under the colour of law and justice is augmented, till it ascends to the degree of cruelty ; but in case things do not arrive at this extremity, because fear suffocates in the breasts of the afflicted, the voice of murmur ; yet what greater torment can a man undergo, than that of supporting a heavy yoke on his shoulders, and having at the same time a cord drawn so tight round his neck, as to obstruct the relief of a sigh ? This then being a great martyrdom, the oppression which is the cause of it, can't fail of being a great cruelty.

S E C T. VIII.

XXVIII. I am not surprized that some Princes have gone to this extreme, but rather wonder that all have not proceeded to it. The thirsty desire of domineering, which is never satiated, is natural to the heart of man ; and this principle which is
born

born with us, in Princes, is stimulated and inflamed by flattery. We frequently hear them addressed, in terms which are exquisitely hyperbolic, some to blazon the perfections of their characters, others those of their persons. They represent to them their superiority in a manner, that tends to persuade them, they are more than men, and that other people are less. This ostentatious image of grandeur, is very grateful to their feelings, and therefore it is not wonderful they should set it up as an idol, for the people who are under them, to offer as sacrifices to, of all they possess which is most valuable. Some politicians have thought it expedient, in order to give Princes a higher idea of their own excellence, and fill them with more exalted notions, to place flatterers about their persons, and I have no doubt but this may be proper, when you perceive them to be very pusillanimous. But in general, the thing of most consequence in their education, is being careful to impress in their minds, such maxims only, as are dictated by religion, virtue, and humanity. And this is the manner, in which they should be propounded to them.

XXIX. That a King is a man, as other men are, son like them, of the same common father, equal by nature, and only unequal in fortune.

XXX.

XXX. That this fortune, imagine it to be great as you will, he owes all to God, who has power to place one of another race on the throne ; and no man, if he pleases to do it, has a right to find fault or complain of injustice, even though he should raise to the rank of Majesty a person of the most humble station in the kingdom, and reduce to the lowest class, him, who the day before was seated on a throne.

XXXI. That so much the greater the idea of his own grandeur is, by so much the greater ought his gratitude and thankfulness to be to the Divine Majesty, who has conferred it upon him ; and that in proportion to the superiority of his rank, are his obligations to serve and obey God as an example to other men.

XXXII. That God did not make the kingdom for the King, but the King for the kingdom. Therefore the object of his government should not be directed to support his own private interest or convenience, but that of the republic. For this reason, Aristotle points out as the essential distinction between a King and a tyrant, that the first only attends to his own convenience, the other to the public good.

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XXXIII.

XXXIII. That consequently, the expression used in edicts, that such is the King's pleasure, he having thought fit to order the thing specified to be done for the advancement or good of his service, should be understood to imply, that he is pleased with ordaining such things only as are for the good of the public. It is the duty of the subjects to obey the King; and it is the duty of the King to command such things only, as are for the benefit and advantage of his subjects.

XXXIV. That as the subjects are obliged to obey and execute what the King is pleased to direct, the King is obliged to order such things only as are pleasing to God, and consistent with his laws and commandments.

XXXV. That the power of ordering only what is right and just, does not diminish his authority, but rather aggrandizes it; for although it is impossible for God to do any act which is not right and just, he does not on that account cease to be omnipotent.

XXXVI. That a King, having risen to the summit of human glory, cannot ascend to a superior degree of altitude, but by the arduous path
of

of virtue ; that is, he can only be greater by being better.

XXXVII. That the most difficult and most glorious part of the exercise of the kingly office, consists, not in a Prince's conquering new kingdoms, but in this good government of that he possesses. A Courtier in the presence of Augustus said, that Alexander, at thirty-two years of age, upon reflecting that in a little time he should subjugate all the world, was at a loss to think how he should employ himself when that was done : *Alexander at that rate*, replied Augustus, *must have been very simple ; for the most arduous and difficult part of the work remained still to be executed, which was, governing well the kingdoms he had conquered.*

XXXVIII. If we were to take an account of the Princes who were great warriors, and of those who were eminent for their virtue, we should find the number of the last much smaller than that of the first ; so that although virtue should not be so much admired in Kings as military glory, its being more scarce, is sufficient to make it more valuable. Flavius Vopiscus relates, that a buffoon, to express the smallness of the number of the good Princes who had been known in the world, said, the effigies of them all might be

carved on a ring. As he talked of idolatrous Kings, for he knew no others, he may be supposed to have spoke the truth; but things are quite otherwise at present, although the numbers of the warlike and political ones may be reckoned in all times to have exceeded those of the pious ones.

XXXIX. That as the subjects owe to their King their obedience and respect, he owes to them his tender care and protection. A King has two sorts of children, some as a man, others as a Prince; those of the one sort are natural, those of the other political; but they are all his subjects, and as such he ought to love them. The inhabitants of Sichem, of whom Hamor was Prince, are called in scripture the children of Hamor.

XL. That this love should not impede, but rather stimulate him to punish delinquents; because the greatest benefit a King can confer on his subjects, is to root out from among them evil-doers.

XLI. That the effects of his love should be more felt by his subjects at large, than by his ministers, and especially those who are nearest his person; for to these, he should dispense the tokens

tokens of his regard, in proportion to their merit; and it is of the utmost importance, that he should not extend his esteem for them beyond those limits. It is good that ministers should love their Prince; but I judge it would be more beneficial to the public, that they should fear him. That kingdom is in a most happy state, where the subjects fear the ministers, the ministers the King, and the King God.

XLII. Those above all should experience him terrible, who are found wanting to the truth, in any informations they give him relating to important public affairs, or even concerning private ones; for there are few Princes, who would not wish to do what is most for the advantage of their subjects; but it happens, that they fail to attain this end, on account of the indirect and fallacious informations which come to their ears.

XLIII. That in order to insure the receiving them pure, there is no other method to be pursued, but that of admitting easy access to all men; some would then remove the deceptions, which others had imposed; or no one would venture to deceive, for fear that some other should detect him. If any one arrives at the sole possession of the King's ear, he, without using further industry,

becomes the sole master of the King and his kingdom.

XLIV. That he should listen courteously to all who address him, but should be more particularly gracious to those in humble stations of life, because these, as more timorous and bashful, stand in most need of encouragement to enable them to express themselves. Augustus, with a most humane air, asked a man who approached him with fear and trembling to deliver a petition, if he thought he was addressing himself to a lion or a tiger. This courteous manner in a Prince, besides conciliating the love of his subjects, facilitates to those who obtain an audience, a clear and entire exposition of all they have to say; for a tremulous tongue can never articulate plainly, and fear cuts off the communication between the lips and the breast.

XLV. That he should shew himself so zealous a lover of justice, as even for the sake of it, to dispense with his own interest or convenience; and he should give the Judges to understand, that whenever his concerns come in question, and that any thing which is supposed to be his is claimed by one of his subjects, if the merits of the case are not on his side, they would not recommend themselves to him, by pronouncing sentence

sentence in his favour. This was the great lesson, which, among others, was given on his death-bed by the pious King Louis to his heir and successor Philip. The Senescal Joinville, the beloved minister of that Prince, relates the advice to have been conceived in the following terms ; *If any one shall have a dispute or litigation with you, shew yourself favourably disposed to the suit of your opponent, till the truth can with certainty be established. By pursuing this method, you will insure, that your ministers and counsellors will always act in favour of justice.* A caution, worthy to be written and preserved in letters of gold.

XLVI. That whenever it is evidently established, that some resolution is necessary to be taken for the good of the public, maugre the compassion, benignity, and love, which are so much recommended ; it should not be omitted to be carried into execution, on account of the complaints or injury it may occasion to some particular people ; for they sometimes are not aware of the importance of the measure ; and sometimes it is also necessary, to suffer a grievance to be born by a small part of a kingdom, for the good of the whole.

XLVII. That when he consults the lawyer, the divine, or the politician, he should conceal

the inclinations of his own mind, and hear their answers with perfect indifference. If he does not act thus, but on the contrary rewards him who coincides with his wishes, and frowns on the man who speaks with christian freedom and integrity; the precaution of a consultation won't remove from him the guilt of any miscarriage that may happen; for it is very well known, that a King is never at a loss for politicians, divines, and lawyers, to say that is right and proper, which he is desirous of doing.

XLVIII. That in the end, he must one day die, and that at the instant of his dissolution, he must appear upon a level with the most humble sinner of the earth before the King of Kings, to give an account of all his actions. I contemplate the appearance of a King at that tremendous tribunal, in a terrible light. Private delinquents are charged with here and there a homicide, and here and there a theft; but to the account of an iniquitous King, homicides and robberies are charged by thousands and by millions. In one unjust war which he commences, all those who die on one side and the other have their deaths charged to his account, which although they should be estimated at a few, will always be found to amount to several thousands. All the diminutions which the subjects of both kingdoms sustain in their properties,

perties, in order to support the expences of the war, are imputed to him as the author and cause of the mischief; and the number of people injured amounting to millions, the account of his injustices amounts to millions also.

XLIX. It appears just and proper to me, to instill into the minds of Princes in their tender age, these and such like admonitions, taking care not to propound them with that dryness, and in the bald and naked shape, in which they appear in this writing; but observing to combine and interweave them, into such conversations on political subjects, as may naturally present themselves. In the doing this, all odious magisterial affectation should be avoided, and the instruction should be conveyed under the form, and habited in the dress of rational amusement.

L. I am not ignorant, that if Princes are pusillanimous, it will be necessary in various instances, in order to enlarge their minds, to educate them with less severe maxims; but those who are appointed to instruct them in their youth, need not be very attentive to this consideration; for they may naturally conclude, that when their pupils mount the throne, there will always be people enough at their elbows ready to supply this defect.

S E C T.

S E C T. IX.

LI. What we have written in this discourse, if we attend precisely to the present state of Spain, can produce no other benefit to him who reads it, but that of an honest amusement; or at most, can only furnish the people here with a knowledge of some moral truths, the effects of which do not reach them, nor have they any experience of the consequences resulting from them; for neither the royal children of this day, who for the good of this kingdom proceed to grow and increase in virtue, nor those who are appointed to instruct them, stand in need of my advice; but rather, my theory is marked out by their steps, and copied from their practice. Besides, it is the general condition of all cautions and admonitions which are written to warn Princes, that they are only printed when they are not necessary. Nobody writes against tyranny, when a tyrant is seated on the throne; nobody against ambition, while an ambitious Prince reigns; nobody against avarice, while a covetous Prince sways the sceptre. All maxims that issue from the press, which are opposite to the existing mode of ruling, are reputed satires upon government, so that the author by publishing them incurs the indignation of the Prince, and fails to benefit the public. His work

work is suppressed as offensive, and by that means his labour is totally lost, because the fruits of it can never be enjoyed, neither then, nor in any future time.

LII. From hence it follows, that the most opportune time to exhibit to the world treatises upon just and right policy, is that in which such policy is practised. It is then you should sow, for then you have a favourable prospect, that the seed will produce a good crop hereafter; and even then you may enjoy the produce in part; for the reigning Prince being confirmed that the road he pursues is right, is fortified in his good purposes. To him such doctrine serves as a cordial, and to future ages it acts as a preservative.

work is supported as officers, and by that means
his labour is totally lost, because the fruits of it
can never be enjoyed, neither there, nor in any
other time.

I. II. From hence it follows, that the most im-
portant time to exhibit to the world treasures
upon just and right policy, is that in which such
policy is practised. **O N** When you should sow,
for then you have a favourable prospect, that the
seed will produce a good crop of posterity; and even

THE LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY,

A N D

National Prejudice or Prepossession.

S E C T. I.

I Seek in men that love of their country,
which I find so much celebrated in books,
but I do not find it; I mean that just, noble, and
virtuous love, which they owe to it. In some, I
see no kind of affection for their country at all;
in others, I perceive only a criminal affection,
which is vulgarly called national prejudice.

II.

II. I don't deny, that by turning over history, you will find thousands of victims sacrificed to this idol. What war is undertaken without this specious pretence? What field do we see drenched with human blood, that posterity, over the carcases from whence it flowed, has not fixed the honourable inscription, that those men lost their lives for the good of their country? But if we examine things critically, we shall find the world is much mistaken, in thinking there have been so many or so refined sacrifices made to this imaginary deity. Let us figure to ourselves a republic, armed for a war, undertaken upon the principle of a just defence; and let us also proceed to examine by the light of reason, the impulse which animates men's hearts to expose their lives in the quarrel. Among the private men, some enlist for the pay and the plunder, others with the hopes of bettering their fortunes, and acquiring military honour and preferment; but the greatest part, from motives of obedience, and fear of the Prince or the General. He who commands the army, is instigated by his interest and his glory. The Prince, or Chief Magistrate, who is at a distance from the danger, acts more for the sake of maintaining his dominion, than for supporting the republic. Now admitting that all these people should find it more for their interest to retire to their houses,

than

than to defend the walls, you would hardly see ten men left on the ramparts.

III. Even those feats of prowess of the antients, which are so blazoned and immortalized by fame, as the ultimate exertions of zeal for the public good, were more probably generated by ambition, and the love of glory, than by the love of their country; and I am inclined to think, that if there had not been witnesses present, to have handed down to posterity an account of their exploits, that from a principle of love to his country, neither Curtius would have precipitated himself into the pit, nor Marcus Attilius Regulus have submitted to die a lingering death in an iron cage; nor would the twin brothers, for the sake of extending the boundaries of Carthage, have consented to be buried alive. The incitement of posthumous fame had great influence among the Gentiles; and it might also happen, that some rushed on a violent death, not so much with a view of acquiring posthumous fame, as from the mad vanity of seeing themselves admired and applauded for a few instants of their lives, of which Lucian gives us a striking example, in the death that was submitted to by the philosopher Peregrinus.

IV.

IV. Among the Romans, the love of their country, was so much in vogue and so prevalent, that it seemed as if this noble inclination was the soul of their whole republic. But what appears to me is, that the Romans themselves, on account of Cato's constant and steady attachment to the public, looked upon him as a very uncommon man, and as one descended from Heaven. It may be said of all the rest of them, almost without exception, that in serving their country, they sought more their own exaltation than the public utility. They gave Cicero the glorious surname of Father of his country, for the successful and vigorous opposition he made to Catiline's conspiracy. This in appearance was a great merit, although in reality it was but an equivocal one ; for not only the success of Cicero's attaining the consulate, depended upon that fury's not carrying his point, but his life also ; for it is true, that when afterwards Cæsar tyrannized over the republic, Cicero accommodated himself very well with him. The subornations of Jugurtha, King of Numidia, shewed abundantly what sort of spirit influenced the Roman senate ; which, contrary to the interest of the republic, tolerated in that penetrating and violent Prince many grave and pernicious evils, because every new insolence he committed was accompanied with a new present

sent to the senators. He was at last brought to Rome, and detained there; and although he was so far from correcting or reforming his old practices, that within the city itself he committed new and enormous offences; by the favour of gold, he was permitted to go at large, which in the delinquent himself begot such a contempt of that government, that when he left Rome, after getting at a little distance from the city, he turned about, and looking at it with disdain, called it a *venal city*, adding, that it would soon perish, if any one could find money enough to pay the price of its ruin: *Urbem venalem, et mature perituram, si emptorem invenirit* (Sallust in Jugurtha). The same thing, and even more pointedly, was said by Petronius:

Venalis populus, venalis curia patrem.

This is a picture of the love of their country so celebrated among the Romans, and to which many at this day judge they owed the enormous extension of the Roman empire.

S E C T. II.

V. Our opinion of this matter differs greatly from that of the bulk of mankind, by whom it is generally believed, the love of their country is natural to, and transcendent in all men; and as a proof of it, they alledge the repugnance, which all, or nearly all men feel at abandoning the country

country in which they were born, to go and reside in any other whatever; but I find here a great equivocation, and that what men call the love of their country, is in reality, nothing else but the love of their own convenience. There is no man who does not leave his own country cheerfully, when he has expectations by going to another of mending his fortune; and examples of this sort are seen every day. Of all the fables that have been fabricated by the poets, there is no one appears to me more void of probability, than that of Ulysses's having preferred the dreary and unpleasant rocks and crags of his own country Ithaca, to the immortality full of delights, which was offered him by the nymph Calipso, upon condition that he would come and live with her in the island of Ogygia.

VI. I may be told, that the Scythians, as Ovid testifies, fled from the delicacies of Rome, to the asperities of their own frozen soil; that the Laplanders, maugre all the conveniencies and accommodations that were offered them at Vienna, sighed to return to their own poor steril country; and that but a few years ago, a Canadian savage who was brought to Paris, where he was furnished with every possible convenience, lived there in a seeming state of affliction and melancholy.

VII. I say in answer to all this, that it is true; but it is also true, that these men live with more convenience to themselves in Scythia, in Lapland, and in Canada, than in Vienna, at Paris, or in Rome. Habituated to the food of their country, however hard and coarse it may appear to us, they find it both grateful and salutary. They are born among snow, and live pleasantly in the midst of it; and as we can't bear the cold of northern regions, they can't endure the heat of southern ones. Their mode of government, is suited to their tempers and dispositions, and although the form is but indifferent, they being reconciled to it by custom, believe that nature itself never dictated any other. Our policy seems as barbarous to them, as theirs does to us. Here, we think it impossible to live without a house or permanent abode; they look upon this as a voluntary imprisonment, and regard it as much more convenient, to be at liberty to change their habitation, when, and to wherever it is most agreeable to them, fabricating it in the evening, for the use of the night and the next day, either in the valley, on the side of the mountain, or in the plain. The accommodation afforded by changing situations as the seasons of the year vary, is enjoyed among us, by none but the great and the opulent; among those barbarians, there is no one who does not enjoy it; and I must confess for myself,

myself, that I look upon a man's having power, whenever he pleases, to remove from a disagreeable neighbourhood, and settle himself in one he likes better, as a very enviable happiness.

VIII. Olavus Rudbec, a noble Swede, who had travelled a great deal through the northern regions, in a book that he wrote, intitled *Lapland Illustrated*, says, that the inhabitants of it, are so convinced of the advantages of their situation, that they would not exchange their own, for all the countries in the world. In fact, they possess some benefits or conveniencies in it, which are not imaginary, but real. That country, produces some regaling fruits, although they are different from ours; and the abundance of game and fish in it, all of them remarkably fine flavoured, is immense. The winters, which with us are so disagreeably damp and rainy, are there clear and serene; from whence it follows, that the natives are active, healthy, and robust. Thunder storms are scarce ever known in that region, nor is there a venomous snake to be found in all the country. They live also exempt from those two great scourges of Heaven, war and pestilence, their climate defending them from both these visitations, it being as obnoxious to strangers and the plague, as it is healthy to the natives. The snow does not incommode them, for by their nat-

tural agility, added to art and contrivance, they fly over the tops of the snowy heights like crows. The multitude of white bears with which the country abounds, serves them for amusement and diversion; for they are so dextrous in combating these fierce animals, that there is scarce a Laplander, who does not kill many of them in a year, although it is very rare, that a Laplander is ever killed by one of them.

IX. We may add, that the long nights in those subpolar regions, of which they give us so horrible a representation, are not so dismal as they are imagined to be. They hardly experience total darkness there above one whole month; the reason is, because the sun descends below his horizon only twenty-three degrees and a half; and according to the computation of Astronomers, the twilight may be perceived at eighteen degrees of depression. Neither does the apparent absence of the sun continue for six months, as it is commonly thought, but for five only, for on account of the great refraction of the rays in that atmosphere, you see the sun, half a month before it mounts above the horizon, and for the same space of time after it descends below it. Some Dutchmen in a northern voyage they made in 1596, being in the latitude of 76, were vastly astonished at seeing the sun fifteen or sixteen days before they expected to

see it. In our discourse on mathematical paradoxes, we explained this phænomenon, and shewed, that by attending to, and computing all things, those who inhabit near the Poles, enjoy the light of the sun for a greater portion of the year, than those who live in the temperate and torrid zones; therefore what is said of the equal repartition of light all over the world, although it is generally assented to, is not true.

X. We much admire, and live very happily on the aliments we commonly use; but there is no nation, to which the same thing does not happen. The people of the northern regions, find the flesh of bears, wolves, and foxes, very favourable and regaling. The Tartars are fond of horse-flesh; the Arabs of the flesh of camels; and the Africans and Chinese, of that of dogs; for they both eat and sell them in the markets as we do pig pork. In some regions of Africa, they eat monkeys, crocodiles, and serpents; and Scaliger says, that in various parts of the east, bats are esteemed as regaling a dish, as chickens are with us.

XI. The same that happens in point of food, happens with respect to every thing else; for whether it proceeds from the force of habit, or the proportion of temperament or disposition of each nation respectively, or that things of the same

species, have different qualities in different countries, which make them more or less commodious or agreeable; every one finds himself better satisfied with the things of his own country, than with those of a foreign one, and he is therefore attached to it, because he feels his own convenience better gratified there, and not by the supposed love of his country.

XII. The inhabitants of the Marian islands, which are so called from Dona Mariana of Austria, who sent missionaries among them for their conversion, made no use of, nor had any knowledge of fire. Who, however, would venture to assert, that this element was not indispensably necessary to human life, or that there was any nation whatever, which could subsist without it? But notwithstanding this, those islanders, without fire, lived contented and happy. They were not sensible of the want of it, because they did not know it. Roots, fruit, and crude fish, were all their aliment; and still they were more healthy and robust than we, for living to a hundred years of age, was very frequent and common among them.

XIII. The force of custom is amazingly powerful, for it is capable of not only making the greatest asperities sufferable, but by peoples being familiarized to them, it also causes their being satisfied under them. He who was not well apprized of
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of this truth, would be led to think what passed between Esteban King of Poland, and the Peasants of Livonia, incredible. This glorious Prince having observed, that these poor people were cruelly ill treated by the nobles of the province, convened them together, and after condoling their misery, told them he proposed to make their subjection less severe and easier to be tolerated, by restraining the exercise of power in the nobility, within more mild and moderate bounds; but wonderful to relate, instead of seeming sensible of his benevolence, and embracing the offer he made them, they threw themselves at his feet, and begged he would not alter their customs, with which, through long usage, they were quite satisfied. What will not the force of habit conquer, if it is capable of making tyranny agreeable? Join to this, the circumstance of the Muscovite women, who are not happy or contented, unless their husbands, without their giving them any occasion for it, beat or cudgel them every day, regarding this unprovoked ill-treatment, as a token of their great love for them.

XIV. We may add to the foregoing remarks, that a uniformity of language, religion, and customs, makes the intercourse with our countrymen grateful and pleasing, as a diversity in those matters, makes the society of strangers awkward and

unentertaining. Our particular connections and personal friendships also, tend to produce the same effect ; and generally speaking, the love of convenience, and of that private ease and happiness, which every man finds in his own country, is what attracts him to, and retains him in it, and not the love of the country itself. He who should experience better personal accommodation in another region, would do as St. Peter did, who, as soon as he found himself happily situated on Mount Tabor, resolved to fix his lasting abode on that eminence, and to abandon for good and all the valley in which he was born.

S E C T. III.

XV. It is also true, that not only real, but imaginary conveniencies, have their influence, to promote an adherence to our country. Entertaining a flattering opinion of the country in which we were born, and preferring it to all others in the world, is one of the most common of all common errors. There is scarce any man, and among the lower class of people not a single one, who does not think his own country the first production of nature, and abounding in a three-fold proportion, with all the goods she distributes, either with respect to the genius or ability of the natives, the fertility of the soil, or the happiness

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of the climate. To understandings of inferior rank, near objects are represented as by the corporeal eye, which although they are really less, appear larger than things at a distance. In his nation only, are to be found learned and wise men, those of other kingdoms are hardly civilized; the customs of his country only are rational, and the language of it is the only soft and sufferable one; the hearing a stranger speak as effectually excites them to laughter, as seeing Jack Pudding on a stage; his nation only abounds in riches, and the Prince of it is the only powerful one. At the end of the last century, when the arms of France were so prevalent, a junto of people at Salamanca being talking on this subject, a low Portugeze who was among them, with an air of great sagacity and importance, made the following political remark; *There is certainly now no Prince in Europe capable of resisting the King of France, except the King of Portugal.* But what Michael Montona, in his treatise intituled *Moral Reflections*, relates of a rustic Savoyard, is more extravagant still, who said, *I don't believe the King of France has the ability he is said to have, for if that was the case, he would have negotiated with our Duke long ago, about making him his Major Domo.* Nearly after this manner, do all the low vulgar discourse of the things of their own country.

XVI. Neither are many of those exempted from so gross an error, although it is in a less degree, who by their birth or professions, are much superior to the lower class of people. The number of vulgar who do not associate with the common herd, but are intruded among people of understanding, is infinite. How many men of school learning, whose heads were stored with texts, have I seen filled with the caprice, that our nation is the only seat of knowledge and learning, and that in other countries, they print nothing but puerilities and bagatels, more especially if they write in their own native idiom ; nor does it appear to them, that any thing worth reading can be published in French or Italian, which is in a manner maintaining, that the most important truths can't be expressed or explained in other languages, although it is certain, the Apostles expounded the most essential and sublime ones in all tongues. But strangers are sufficiently revenged of us for this conceitedness, for in return for our considering them as people of little learning, they look upon us as illiberal and barbarous. Thus in all countries you will find this piece of bad road to travel through, which is worn in holes and made rough, by the hacknied passage of carriages, loaded with the high notions and opinions the natives have of themselves, and the low ones they entertain of strangers.

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

XVII. The worst is, that those who don't think with the vulgar, talk like the vulgar. This proceeds, from what we call national passion or prejudice, the legitimate child of vanity and emulation. Vanity teaches us, that we are interested in our nation being esteemed superior to all others, because every individual looks upon himself as a partaker in the pre-eminence; and emulation causes us to view strangers, especially those who are nearest us, with a jealous eye, and also inclines us to wish their abasement for our own security. From both these motives, people attribute to their own country, a thousand feigned excellencies, although at the time they mention them, they know they are fictitious.

XVIII. This abuse, has filled the world with lyes, and has corrupted the faith of almost all histories. When the glory of his own nation influences him, you will hardly find a historian competently sincere. Plutarch was one of the most impartial writers of antiquity; notwithstanding which, the love of his country, in matters that related to it, made him deviate not a little from his candour; for, as the illustrious Cano remarks, he aggrandizes the events and things appertaining to Greece, beyond their just proportion.

tion. And John Bodin observes, that upon examining his lives, you will find, although his comparisons between Greek heroes and Greek heroes, and between Roman and Roman ones, were rightly and fairly made; that when he came to draw the parallel between Greeks and Romans, he warped in favour of his own countrymen.

XIX. I have always admired Titus Livius, not only for his eminent discretion, method, and judgment, but also for his veracity. He does not conceal or dissemble the views of the Romans, when in the course of his history they come in the way of his pen; but on the contrary he lays them open and exposes them; and what is more, at the hazard of offending Augustus, he highly extolled Pompey, and blazoned his character as preferable to Cæsar's; which in those times, amounted to the same thing as declaring himself a zealous republican. Notwithstanding this, I observe a fault in this prince of historians, which if it did not proceed from want of his adverting to, or being aware of it, we must confess to be the effect of his passion for the marvellous. In the two first ages of their republic, he gives an account of as many battles gained, and as many cities taken by the Romans, as would be sufficient to compleat the conquest of a vast empire; but at the end of this time, we see that republic confined within such narrow bounds, that few less

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states are at this day to be found in all Italy, which is a proof that the antecedent victories, were not so many nor so great in the original, as they are represented to be in the copy.

XX. There is scarce one of the modern historians I have read, in whom I have not observed the same inconsistency. If they relate the events of a long war, they paint them so favourably to their own side, that the reader from those premises, is induced to promise himself, that it will end in an advantageous peace, in which his nation will give the law to the enemy; but as the premises are false, the conclusion does not follow, and in the end, he finds things turn out quite contrary to what he expected.

XXI. I am not insensible, that during a war, such sort of lyes may be politically necessary; therefore in all countries, they print Gazettes with privilege; I don't say of lying, but of colouring events, so that they should not dishearten, but seem pleasing to the people; and in their description of things, they imitate the artifice of Apelles, who painted Antigonus in profile, to conceal his being blind of one eye; I mean, that they display the favourable side of events, and cover the adverse one by a deception. I say, that policy requires this should be done in Gazettes, to
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prevent the subjects being dismayed by the adverse strokes of fortune ; but in books that are written many years after the transactions, what danger is there in speaking the truth ?

XXII. The case is, that although none could happen to the public by it, the writer himself who should make the attempt, would be exposed to a great deal. The poor historians scarce dare do otherwise, than disguise such truths, as are not advantageous to their countrymen. They must either flatter their own nation, or lay down the pen ; for if they fail to do this, they will be branded with the epithet of being disaffected to their country. I lament most heartily the lot of father Mariana ; this very learned Jesuit, over and above possessing the other talents necessary for an historian, was exceedingly sincere and ingenuous ; but this illustrious quality, which aggrandized his glory with sound critics, diminished it among the vulgar of Spain ; they said he had not a Spanish heart, and that his affections and his pen were inimical to his country ; and as heretofore, the extreme rigour of Septimus Severus to the Romans, was attributed to his being of African extraction by his father's side, they imputed to father Mariana, a certain kind of pique against the Spaniards, and assigned as the cause of it, I don't know whether with truth or not, his being
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of French descent on the side of his mother. They would have had him relate events, not as they happened, but in such a way as should seem most pleasing to them; and by such as are fond of adulation, the man who is not a flatterer is regarded as an enemy. But the same thing which made this great man ill looked upon in Spain, gained him the highest eulogiums from the most eminent personages in Europe: the following, bestowed on him by the great Cardinal Baronius, is sufficient to establish his honour and his fame: *Father John Mariana, a scrupulous lover of the truth, an excellent pattern and secretary of virtue, a worthy professor among the society of Jesus, and a Spaniard by birth, but void of all national passion or prejudice, in a learned and elegant stile, wrote a most perfect and faithful history of Spain.* (Baron. ad ann. Christi, 688.)

XXIII. It is not only in Spain, that they would have their historians panegyrist, for the same thing happens in other countries. The King of England, sent for the famous Gregory Leti, to write the history of that kingdom: but he having protested he would not take pen in hand, unless he was allowed to speak the truth; the King, to encourage him to engage in the undertaking, assured him, that he should be permitted to comply with this indispensable obligation, upon which,
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he set to work, and compiled his history from the best authorities, and the most faithful monuments and records he could discover; but the natives having found reason to be dissatisfied with many of the facts laid open in it, the King repented of the permission he had given him, the copies were all called in by the procurement of administration, and the historian obliged to leave England, but ill recompensed for his trouble.

XXIV. We Spaniards, complain much of the French authors, alledging, that from their hatred to us, they disfigure transactions which are glorious to our nation, and aggrandize in proportion, such as are favourable to their own. This complaint is reciprocal, and I believe well founded on both sides. When there have been frequent wars between two nations, you will always observe, that from the jealousies and animosities these have produced, the wars are constantly kept up in the writings of the authors of both kingdoms; for united as in the arrow, the feather follows the impetus of the steel.

XXV. But as a tribute due to truth and justice, I can't avoid taking notice in this place, of an unjust accusation, which has been fulminated by our countrymen against the authors of that nation. They say, that in relating the events of that kingdom

kingdom in the reign of Francis the first, they are either silent on, or deny the imprisonment of that King at the battle of Pavia. This complaint has not the least foundation, for I have read accounts of this advantage of our arms in various French authors, and even in one of them, I saw celebrated the picaresque answer of a French lady to King Francis, on the event of his imprisonment. The King in a satirical manner, that insinuated Time had robbed her of her charms, said to her, *Madam, how long is it since you came from the land of Beauty*; to which the lady readily answered, *Ever since you came from the country of Pavia*.

XXVI. Where I find the most reason for the Spaniards to be angry with the French authors, is in their denying the coming of St James to Spain, and in their refusing to acknowledge that his sacred body is deposited there ; but these pretensions are more the offspring of criticism than national jealousy, and never were material objects of emulation between the two nations. It is on the subject of the justice of wars, and the advantages gained in the prosecution of them, that the pens engage with the most acrimony.

S E C T. V.

XXVII. From this spirit of national prejudice, which prevails in almost all histories, happens, H that

that with respect to an infinite number of facts, the things which are past seem as uncertain to us, as those which are to come. I acknowledge, that the historical Pyrrhonism of Campanela was extravagant, who carried his want of confidence in history to such a point, as to say he doubted whether there ever was an Emperor in the world named Charles the Great. But with respect to those events, which the historians of one nation affirm, and those of another deny; and as there are many such events, it will be prudent for us to suspend our judgment, till some well-informed third person shall decide upon them; for excited either by vanity or inclination, or led by condescension, every one goes on to flatter his own nation; the light of truth at the same time, being concealed from the eyes of the people, by the smoke of the incense of flattery, and the harmony of adulation, preventing their listening to the voice of reason.

XXVIII. I shall not dwell upon those authors, who carried the passion for their country, to lengths of extravagance, such as Goropius Becanus, a native of Brabant, who very deliberately endeavoured to prove, that the Flemish tongue was the first in the world; and Oliver Rudbec, a Swede, who in a book he wrote on purpose, tried to evince, that all which the antients had
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said of the fortunate islands, the garden of the Hesperides and Elysian fields, alluded to Sweden, pronouncing at the same time, his own country to be the source and perfection of European learning, and asserting, that letters and the art of writing, did not descend from Phœnicia to Greece, but from Phœnicia to Sweden, in the prosecution of which undertaking, he rummaged out, and expended in waste, much hidden learning.

XXIX. It may also be proper to observe here, that another opposite vicious extreme, if it is not derived from, arises in consequence of this prejudice. It has been remarked by some, of a modern Spanish author, that he has been guilty of unjustly denying to Spain, the honour of some glorious antiquities, with a view of being applauded as a sincere man among strangers. Perhaps this was not his motive, but that his criticism was defective, for want of being tempered with a due mixture of the indulgent and the severe; and that to avoid the imputation of flattery, he ran into the opposite offensive extreme; for

Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt,

S E C T. VI.

XXX. But the national prejudice of which we have spoken hitherto, is, if we may so call it,

an innocent vice compared to another, which by being more common, is more pernicious. I speak of that preposterous affection which is not relative to a republic at large, but applies to a particular district or territory which we call our own. I don't deny, that by the term country, is understood not only the republic or state of which we are members, and which may be called our common country, but also the province, diocese, city or district, where every one drew his first breath, and which on that account may be termed his particular country ; but it is certain, the phrase love of our country, can't be supposed to be confined or apply to our country according to this second definition, but according to the first ; for that is the sense, in which it is recommended and enforced, by examples, persuasions, and apophthegms, of historians, orators, and philosophers. The country to which we should sacrifice our lives in heroic arms, and which we ought to esteem superior to all our private interests, and as the creditor of all our possible obsequies and services, is that body of state, under which we are united in one civil government, and protected by, and bound to the observance of the same laws. Thus Spain is the proper object of the love of a Spaniard, France of a Frenchman, and Poland of a Polander. But this should be understood, not to relate to such people, who by migrating to,

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and settling in other countries, make themselves members of other states, in which case, the duty they owe to the country where they reside, and are protected, ought to prevail over the affection they bear to the country in which they were born; and on this distinction, we shall in the sequel make an important remark. The dividing a kingdom into provinces or districts, which is done for the convenience of administering justice, and conducting other business of government, has a material influence over, and is in a great measure the cause of dividing men's hearts.

XXXI. The particular or limited love of one's country, instead of being useful to a state, is in many respects injurious and hurtful, because it induces a division in the minds of those, who ought to be reciprocally united, for the sake of making more firm and staple, the bond of common society; and because also this limited love of our country, is an incentive to civil wars, and revolts against the sovereign power; for always when a particular province or district fancies itself aggrieved, all the individuals of it think the redressing the grievances of their injured country, an obligation superior to all others; and finally, this confined principle is an obstacle to the right administration of justice, among all classes of people,

ple, and in every judicial and ministerial department.

XXXII. This last inconvenience is so common and apparent, as to be hidden from no man; and what is worse, no one endeavours to hide it. This pestilence of partiality to countrymen is, to the perversion and corruption of good regulation, introduced and cherished in the most barefaced manner into those departments which are vested with the power of distributing honourable and useful employments. What sanctuary has been able to protect or preserve us from the violencies of this declared enemy of reason and equity? How many hearts, inaccessible to the temptations of gold, insensible to the allurements of ambition, intrepid, and proof against the threats of power, have suffered themselves to be miserably deluded and perverted by national passion? Now-a-days, if a man is a candidate for an office or employment, he always reckons upon as many protectors as he has countrymen, who have any concern or interest in the disposal of it. His pretensions being unreasonable, to a man swayed by national or provincial prejudice, are no objection, because the only merit with such a one, is the candidate's being his countryman. We have seen men, in other respects of unimpeachable integrity, who were much infected with this malady; from hence I have

have been inclined to conclude, that this is an infernal machine, artfully invented by the Devil, to subdue those souls, who by all other ways are invincible; but alas, Achilles, although in one little part of your body only you are vulnerable, what does it avail you, if Paris in shooting the arrow has the skill and address to hit that little part.

S E C T. VII.

XXXIII. I don't condemn that affection for our native soil, which does not operate to prejudice a third person. Aristotle's employing his favour with Alexander, to procure the rebuilding the town of Estagira his native country, ruined by the soldiers of Philip, always appeared to me right and proper; and I condemn the indifference of Crates, whose city had suffered the same misfortune, for having, when Alexander asked him if he was desirous it should be rebuilt, answered, *Of what use would the rebuilding it be, if there should come another Alexander to destroy it afresh?* How exceedingly and ridiculously affected was the behaviour of that philosopher, who lost to his countrymen so signal a benefit, for the sake of a cold apophthegm? The misfortune was, that no other opportune sentence of a contrary tendency occurred to the philosopher just at that time; for

if there had, he would have accepted the favour offered by Alexander. I have observed, that there are no people more unfit to be consulted upon serious and weighty points of business, than those who pride themselves in speaking with grace and elegance; for they are always apt to warp their opinion towards that side, on which a striking expression occurs to them, and provided they deliver themselves with air and brilliancy, they don't embarrass themselves about a little false reasoning.

XXXIV. I say once more, that I do not condemn any innocent or moderate affection for our native land. A love extremely soft and tender, is better suited to women, and more proper for children just rising up in the world, than for men; and therefore I am of opinion, the divine Homer humanizes Ulysses to a degree of excess, when he paints him, amidst all the regales of Pheacia, panting and pining, to see the smoke arise on the mountains of Ithaca, his own country:

Exoptans oculis surgentem cernere fumum

Natalis terræ.

This tenderness in one of the wisest of the Greeks was very puerile; but with all, there is not much inconvenience in viewing with tenderness the smoke of one's country, provided the smoke does not blind the eyes of him who looks at it. Let him

him view the smoke of his own country ; but alas, don't let him prefer it to the light and splendour of foreign ones ; but this is what we see every day. He who by being placed at the head of an eminent department, has the disposal of various employments at his pleasure, can scarce find any persons properly qualified for those employments, but people of his own country. In vain is it represented to him, that these men are unfit to fill the post, and that there are others better qualified. He finds the smoke of his country so grateful an aromattick, that he would abandon for it the most brilliant lights of other places. O how strangely does this smoke blind men's eyes ! How wonderfully does it disorder and affect their heads !

XXXV. In truth, some sin in this particular with their eyes wide open ; I speak of those, who with the view of forming a party to support their authority, promote as many of their countrymen as they possibly can, without paying the least attention to merit. This is not manifesting their love to their country, but to themselves, and is benefiting their own soil, as the earth is benefited by the labour of the husbandman, who does not bestow it with a view of improving the land, but of advantaging himself. These are open and declared enemies of a republic, because it being

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next to impossible, that one district can furnish people sufficiently qualified for such a variety of employments, the places are filled with unworthy objects; this, if it is not the greatest evil that can befall a state, at least ultimately disposes towards producing such an evil,

XXXVI. Of those, who exercise their passion for their countrymen, from a belief that they are the most deserving, I am at a loss what to say, although the motive of their partiality in this matter frequently appears to me a voluntary blindness, and if that is the case, they do not stand excused. When the excess of merit in the person set aside, is so notoriously superior to that of the man promoted, that it is manifest to all the world, except to him who dispensed the preferment, what doubt can there be, that he shut his eyes to avoid seeing it? or else, that the microscope of his passion magnified to his view the virtues of the man preferred, and the defects of him neglected? There is scarce any man who has not a portion of good and bad in his composition; a man without fault would be a miracle, and one without a single virtue would be a monster. This made St. Austin say, that gigantic vice was as rare to be found among us, as eminent virtue: *Sicut magna pietas paucorum est, ita et magna impietas nihilominus paucorum est.* (Serm. 10. de verbis Domini.)

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What happens then is, that passion being to chuse between persons of unequal merit, magnifies what is good in the bad man, and also what is bad in the good one. There is not a more unfaithful balance to weigh merit in, than that of passion or prejudice; but this is what men commonly use for the purpose. This caused David to say, men are false in their balances: *Mendaces filii hominum in stateris*. Job, to express the greatness and power of God, says, that he is able to give weight to the wind: *qui fecit ventis pondus*. But I am not clear in what sense to understand this, because I also see, that the powerful of the world in the balance of their passion, frequently give weight, and much weight to the air. What do you see in that person they have just raised? Nothing solid, nothing but air and vanity; but to this air, the great man who exalted him gave more weight, than to the gold of the other person who was his competitor for the office. But how was this done? Why, together with the air, he put earth into the scale, I mean the earth of the country in which he was born, and this earth weighs very heavy in that balance.

XXXVII. It happens in the contentions about occupying places, as it happened in the conflict between Hercules and Anteus. Hercules was much more valiant and powerful than the other,
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and threw him repeatedly to the ground; but the falls, enabled Anteus to renew the combat with redoubled vigour, because by his contact with the earth, his strength was doubled. The explanation of the matter is this, the antients under the veil of fables, concealed physical and moral maxims, and according to the heathen mythology, which was the term they used to signify the exposition of those mysterious fictions, Anteus was the son of the earth. I believe, to make this fable apply to the present question, we need say no more, than that as things go in the world, every country by its recommendation, gives strength to its sons to overcome strangers, although they are people of superior abilities and vigour. Hercules lifted Anteus from the ground, and kept him suspended in the air, by which means he found no difficulty in overcoming him. It were much to be wished, that upon many occasions, in order to determine the worth of people, they should be examined divested of all favour and advantage they can derive from belonging to a particular country, for then it would be much better known to whom the preference is due.

SECT.

S E C T. VIII.

XXXVIII. These men of national genius and prejudice, whose spirits are all flesh and blood, and whose breasts are always in contact with the earth, like that of a snake, do in a community, what the old serpent did in paradise, or as Luzbel did in Heaven, that is; introduce into it, seditions, revolts, schisms, and battles. No fire assails a civil edifice so violently, as the flame of national passion, for it consumes the very stones of the fabric, levels merit to the ground, and makes reason tremble, excites tumults and insults, and makes way for the triumphant entry of ambition. Those hearts which ought to be cordially united by the bond of brotherly love, that bond being broke asunder, are miserably divided, and breathe nothing but vengeance and rancour. They form parties, enlist auxiliaries, and range their forces; but alas! in the end both the victors and vanquished are unfortunate and unhappy; the last lose the day and their patience, and the first by their conquest lose themselves.

XXXIX. In no words of sacred writ, is a call to a generous and virtuous life painted in more lively colours, than in those of the Psalmist,
 Psalm

Pſalm xliv. *Mark me, my Son, incline your ear, and attend to my words, you muſt forget your townſmen, and the houſe of your father.* But how greatly does he deviate from the precept contained in this admonition, who ſo far from forgetting his townſmen, and the houſe of his father, treaſures up in his heart and memory, not only a houſe or a town, but a whole province or kingdom.

XL. Alexander, after he had conquered Perſia, cauſed the Macedonian ſoldiers to marry Perſian women, to the end, ſays Plutarch, that forgetting their native land, they ſhould only eſteem as their countrymen, thoſe who were good, and regard as ſtrangers thoſe who were bad : *Ut mundum pro patria, caſtra pro arce, bonos pro cognatis, malos pro peregrinis agnoſcerent.*

XLI. It is an apophthegm, of many learned and wiſe men among the Gentiles, that to a man of a ſtrong and liberal mind, all the world is his country. He who attaches his heart to that corner of the earth in which he was born, cannot look upon all the world as his country, nor himſelf as a citizen of it, and therefore the world ſhould deſpiſe him, as a narrow-minded and mean-ſpirited perſon,

XLII,

XLII. I believe notwithstanding, that there is something figurative contained in the words of the sentences before quoted, for mankind can never be understood to be exempted from the love and service they owe to the republic of which they are members, in preference to all other states and kingdoms ; but I apprehend also, that this obligation should not be confined to a republic, because we were born within its limits, but because we are members of its society ; therefore, he who has legally transferred his residence from the kingdom in which he was born, to another different one, where he has settled himself, and taken up his abode, contracts with respect to that kingdom, the same obligations he owed to that in which he was born and nursed, and he ought to regard it as the country to which he belongs. This is a distinction, that was not rightly understood by many great men of antiquity ; and for this reason, we see in various authors of note, some actions celebrated as heroic, which ought to have been condemned as infamous. Demaratus King of Sparta, when he was unjustly dethroned and driven out of his kingdom by his own subjects, was kindly received and protected by the Persians. He lived among them as a member of the Persian empire, and owed to that country, besides the obligation of gratitude, the duty

duty of a subject ; but mark the sequel : the Persians meditate a military expedition against the Lacedemonians ; and Demaratus, who is let into the secret, communicates the design to the Spartans, in order that they might be prepared to defeat the enterprize. Herodotus, and many other authors, celebrate this action, as a commendable mark of the glorious and heroic love which Demaratus entertained for his country ; but I say, it was a perfidious, base, unworthy, and treacherous act ; because in virtue of the antecedent circumstances, the obligation of his loyalty, together with his person, had been transferred from Lacedemonia to Persia.

XLIII. To conclude : I assert that if by reason of being born in it, we contract any obligation to a particular district or place, that obligation is inferior to, and ought to give place to every other christian or political one whatever. Surely the difference of being born in this or that country is not so material, that this should out-weigh every other consideration ; therefore we ought never to prefer our countryman only because he is our countryman, except in those cases, where there is a perfect equality of all the other circumstances.

XLIV. In superior rulers, I don't even with this limitation, admit of any particularity with
respect

respect to countrymen, for the following reasons : first, because without being perfectly divested of this passion, it is hardly possible in one instance or another, to shun the danger of passing from favour to injustice. Secondly, that in whatever manner, favour to our countrymen is limited and restrained, we are apt to fall into an acceptance or preferable choice of persons, which by all those who govern ought to be studiously avoided. Thirdly, superior rulers being truly the fathers of their people, their impartial affection for them should be regarded as a consideration so incomparably superior to all others, that it ought to stifle and suffocate every kind of motive or inclination to preference, except that which is derived from superior merit. It would be ridiculous in a father to love one child better than another, only because this was born in his own town or city, and the mother was delivered of the other in a different place, in consequence of her being from home on a journey. Therefore all those who govern, ought ever to retain in their hearts and memories, the maxim of the famous queen of Carthage, who being informed that the Trojans, in consequence of her marrying Eneas, entertained hopes of receiving superior indulgences to the Tyrians from her, declared her perfect indifference of affection for them all as a queen in the following words :

Tros, Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

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SECT.

S E C T. IX.

XLV. Having spoken in this discourse, of the favour that may be shewed to a countryman in preference to a stranger, in case he is a man of equal merit, I thought it would not be improper here, to take notice of a moral point, which frequently occurs in practice, and in which I have often seen men mistake, who in other respects are far from absurd. Those, who have annexed to their charges the distribution of honourable and useful employments, if they have not a perfect knowledge of the competitors for a vacant place, commonly avail themselves of judicial or extrajudicial informations touching their merits. This is a case that often occurs in the appointment to such professorships in many universities, as are in the disposal of the king, or his supreme council; and in these instances, all the doctors of this university of Oveido give their information to the royal council promiscuously. It is to be supposed, that the person, who by his own or delegated authority appoints to the office, when two persons of equal merit are proposed to him, may very consistently chuse which he pleases; but with respect to the equality of merit, if he is a stranger to the parties, he must be guided by the informations he receives; and I have seen it
very

very common, when they had no just reason for doing it, for people to give their information in favour of the man they liked best, and I have known them go so far, as not only to recommend him in preference to his competitor, but to represent him as the only person qualified to fill the vacant office.

XLVI. I call this an error, because that in my opinion, such an information upon the face of it, is injurious and void of all probability, which I shall endeavour to demonstrate, by exposing the malice and indirect proceeding of him, who between two equal subjects, Peter and John for example, gives his information in favour of Peter, in preference to John; for I perceive in such behaviour, not only one, but three serious and distinct offences. And first, he offends materially in his information, against the virtue of legal and impartial justice, which requires, that he should represent people according to the true degree of their merits; but he swerves from this principle, who represents Peter as superior to John, when he is not so in reality. Secondly, he behaves unworthily and unjustly to his Prince, by usurping and preoccupying the right, which he has to chuse between the parties. Thirdly, he is guilty of injustice to the said John, who has a right to be represented according to the true degree of

merit he possesses; and the proposing him as inferior to Peter, when in truth he is equal to him, is doing him a manifest injury, which besides prejudicing him with regard to other contingencies, renders it impossible in this instance, for him to partake of the king's grace, of chusing him in preference to his competitor John.

XLVII. From what has been premised, it may be inferred, that no contingent can ever happen, in which an informant or voter can consistently shew favour, or be partial to any man, either in such an instance as we have just mentioned, or in any other whatever, judicial or extrajudicial; because as we have shewn, competitions between subjects of equal merit do not admit of it, and if the merits of the competitors are unequal, the injustice of such a proceeding is self-evident; consequently, to him who acts conscientiously, all recommendations or solicitations are useless and improper; for he will not be biassed by friendship, country, gratitude, school-alliances, religion, college-connections, or any other motives whatever. But the misfortune is, that in the practice of the world, we see but few examples of such disinterested and upright conduct, even in cases where the merits of candidates are unequal; but on the contrary, whenever an opposition is set on foot, the favourers of each candidate, are more occupied
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in canvassing suffrages, than in studying questions, and more busied in examining the connections of voters, than books of faculty. The abuse is carried to such a length, that sometimes a man's acting with integrity is imputed to him as a crime. If a voter, who is solicited by a man of eminence, answers ingenuously, and excuses himself from complying with what is requested of him; they say he is a rough, ill-bred, unpolished man: if he does not yield to the solicitations of a benefactor, they call him ungrateful; and if he does not give way to the intreaties of a friend, they exclaim that he is callous to the feelings of friendship. Finally, it appears to me, that a more intolerable error than this cannot exist, for I have seen men much esteemed by the generality of mankind for their worth, who have always prostituted their votes to these or some other temporal motives; but in the name of reason, can a man have any friend so great or so good as God? Is there any benefactor, to whom we owe so much as to him? How shall we reconcile this? Can he be called a grateful, an honourable, or a good man, who can be wanting in his duty to his best friend and greatest benefactor, by acting unjustly to oblige a creature, to whom he owes this or that limited respect, and to whom also it is impossible he should owe any thing whatever, but what he owes principally, and in the first instance to God?

In vain I have urged these arguments in various private conversations ; and I believe it is in vain also, that I now use them with the public at large ; but if they shall not be effectual to amend the abuse, they will at least serve to disburthen my mind, and give vent to my chagrin.

T H E

T H E
SEMBLANCE OF VIRTUE;
O R,
VIRTUE IN APPEARANCE.

S E C T. I.

I. **V**IRTUE and wickedness fly with nearly the same velocity from the human eye, and are both almost equally concealed from the discernment and penetration of mankind. The first lies hid under the veil of modesty, the second behind the parapet of hypocrisy. The vicious disguises himself with the colouring of virtue, the virtuous disdains and effaces all false tints or glosses.

II. The number of hypocrites in the world is much greater than is generally imagined. There

is no vice so transcendent, for all bad people are hypocrites. This may seem a paradox, and you may say to me, are there no men who make parade and ostentation of vice; I answer yes, but not of all their vices. They endeavour by their boasting to hide their confusion, and discover that part of their souls which they are unable to conceal. They place a crown on the image of vice, in order to give dignity to the figure; and although arrogant wickedness is worse than timid, the last is despised, and the first feared. An unruly passion breaks down all the fences of reserve, and the delinquent, not being able to conceal his shame and disgrace by dissimulation, endeavours by his pride and arrogance to make himself dreaded. This is practising a new hypocrisy, with which he belies and endeavours to put a trick on his own conscience. The crime appears odious in his eyes, therefore by putting on a false semblance and air of gallantry, he attempts to dazzle the eyes of other people. To protect from public insult, him, who is a notorious bad man, no other method is so effectual, as that of openly exposing his faults to the world with daring impudence.

III. But observe attentively these very people, and you will find, that although they behave with this audacity, they at the very time they are doing

ing it, endeavour to conceal other vices they are infected with, and also to make ostentation of virtues which they do not possess. They will own they are incontinent, prodigals, ambitious, and audacious; but they blazon their gratitude to their benefactors, their steadiness in their friendships, and their fidelity to their promises. It is certain, that the vice of ingratitude is one of the most common and most vulgarized in all the world; but with all this, you will not find any man who does not take pains to justify himself on this head; and I say the same of lying, of perfidy, and of other vices. It follows then, that upon a critical enquiry, you will not find a vicious man who is not a hypocrite. We should not suppose that open and avowed profligates, or debauchees, have no other blemishes, than such as shew themselves outwardly. There is no virtue such a man would not trample upon, if it was an impediment to his pursuits, nor an opposite vice to that virtue, which he would not employ as an instrument, to gratify his ruling passion. Do you think a very lewd man, for all the boastings of his innocence in matters of justice, and in points of *meum* and *tuum* honesty, would not, if he found himself without money of his own, make use of that of another person which was confided to his keeping, to purchase the enjoyment of his favourite object? or that the ardently ambitious man, for all
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the vociferations of his gratitude, would not turn his back on his benefactor, whenever this baseness would be a means of recommending him to the good graces of one, who could advance him to a higher degree of preferment, than it was in the power of his old friend to procure for him?

IV. So that it is very rare to find a perverse person, who, over and above those glaring vices which manifest themselves so palpably, is not tainted with others, which he affects to hide; and in case there do not predominate in him other passions besides those, which on account of their vehemence are so very conspicuous, these of themselves are sufficient to betray him into faults, which arise from, and are the offspring of other distinct passions, when the committing those faults is indispensably necessary for attaining the objects or purposes of the ruling passion. Alexander in his natural disposition, was certainly not a cruel man, notwithstanding which, he was guilty of cruel actions; for such were the putting to death his friend Clytus, and the philosopher Calisthenes. His predominant passions were vain-glory and pride. Clytus fell a victim to the first, for having preferred the actions of Alexander's father Philip to his; and Calisthenes fell a victim to the last, for having deterred people from idolizing Alexander as the son of Jupiter.

V.

V. Sometimes the false appearance of a vice is put on politically, or with a view of deriving some advantage from it. A man feigns himself vindictive, when in reality he is not so, in order that the fear of his vengeance may deter people from offending. This most frequently happens, when the vice affected is meritorious in the eyes of him who rules. Sejanus would never have obtained the favour of Tiberius, by appearing a lover of justice; nor Tigilinus, nor Petronius, that of Nero, by seeming modest and continent.

VI. It is probable, that from the motive of falling in with the humour of wayward and evil-minded princes, there have been politicians who were contradictory hypocrites, and have wore the semblance of vices which their natures revolted at, and what is worse, in order to prove they were tainted with them, have put a violence on their inclinations, and although it was with reluctance, have brought themselves to commit disorders which their dispositions abhorred. When people make a merit of delinquency, instead of that hypocrisy which is properly such, on account of its counteracting virtue, they study another which is the reverse of it, because it feigns vice.

VII.

VII. But these very persons will affect to appear sincere, constant, grateful, and men of veracity. There never was any man, who was not desirous of dissembling or concealing those vices, which were opposite to the virtues, which constitute what is commonly called a good man, and therefore the hypocrites who affect the shew of these virtues are innumerable.

VIII. I don't deny, that a man's being more under the dominion of some vices than others, depends in a great measure on his constitution, which may be compared to a soil, where some passions take deeper root, and grow more vigorous than others. This man, without attempting to restrain it, suffers himself to be carried away by incontinence, but abhors cheating : another gives himself up to gluttony and drunkenness, but looks upon perfidy with horror and indignation. Thus it is ; but his enmity to these vices, lasts no longer than till he has occasion for their assistance to indulge his passion for the others. Catiline, in the early part of his life, appeared to have no other passions than those of incontinence, ostentation, and prodigality ; but these vices having reduced him to poverty, and he on that account not being able to continue his pursuits of them, formed the design of tyrannizing over

over the republic, in order to extricate himself from indigence. In consequence of this, he became ambitious, fierce, cruel, relentless, and perfidious.

IX. I am of opinion, that nobody should put much confidence in those, who are called good sort of men, if they see them much impressed with, or under the influence of particular passions. That vice which domineers over them, is to themselves the ultimate end or object, to which they direct all their attentions; or the idol, to whom, if their occasions required it, they would sacrifice all other considerations. I don't pretend that there are no exceptions to this rule; the natural abhorrence of one vice, may predominate over the inclination to commit another. But I in all cases, and at all events, would sooner place my confidence in him, who from a religious fear of God has a regard to his conscience in all his actions, than in the man, who only from his natural disposition and temperament, or from a punctilio of honour, practises those virtues, which are commonly understood to constitute the character of what the world calls a good man; temperament lets go the rein, when the ruling passion becomes impetuous, and shews an eagerness to press forward; and honour loses its influence, when it is believed the commission
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of the bad act will not be known. The fear of God never ceases to operate.

X. The famous Magdalen Scudery, in her book intitled moral conversations, relates a remarkable story of a man, who risked his life for a friend in three duels; but this friend afterwards, having occasion to beg he would lend him a small sum of money which he stood in need of, he refused to comply with his request. Who would believe, that a man who on repeated occasions, had hazarded his life for his friend, would have failed him in a thing of so much less consequence? He was both covetous and intrepid, but his avarice made him consider his life as less valuable than his money. His friendship contended with his ruling passion, and the last as the most prevalent pressed down and stifled the finer feelings.

XI. One of the greatest mistakes which men commit in their confidences, is that of trusting those, whom they have known to be unfaithful to others. This is an error which all men condemn, and which almost every one falls into. I confide my secret to him, who has recommended himself to my favour, by revealing that of another person. I give my friendship to the man, who in compliment to me has abandoned the patron who before protected him. This is the effect of our
love

love for, and the superior conceit we entertain of ourselves. Every one fancies, that he has in himself a most powerful attraction, that will keep the heart of a person fixed and attached to him, who has been unfaithful to other people. He thinks, that it was the power of his singular merit, which made the man abandon his benefactor or friend, for the sake of allying himself to him. He is so full of his own consequence and rare qualities, that it never enters his imagination, nor does he even harbour the least suspicion, that this very person may see, or pretend to see, a higher degree of merit in another man, to which he might make the same sacrifice of his friendship. Princes and great men, whom the habit of being flattered is apt to make the most presumptuous, are those who are most liable to fall into this snare. How often do we see in courts, treachery rewarded with promotion. The maxim that we love the treason, but hate the traitor, is received by all the world in theory, but has very few votaries in practice. The traitor is displeasing to him, who dislikes the treason; but he who interests himself in the treason, looks on the traitor with favourable eyes. This is derived in a great measure, from calling things by wrong names. Treason is termed obsequiousness, and a traitor called friend; and jointly with this, they are apt to interpret, that some honest motive in-

tervened

tervened to excite to the action; and in case they can't find out any other than that of interest or convenience, they applaud the ability displayed in chusing the most beneficial side. Queen Elizabeth of England was a striking exception to this rule. An unfaithful Spaniard sold to her, for a stipulated price, a town in the Low Countries; and after he had so done, to avoid the punishment due to his demerit, went over to, and resided in England, where he offered his service to the Queen as an able military officer; to which she replied, "Go your ways, when I have occasion for any one to commit an act of treachery, I will make use of you."

S E C T. II.

XII. The perfect hypocrites are few in number. I call those perfect hypocrites, whose outside is all devotion, and who within are all baseness and iniquity, or such as answer the description of the satyrist:

Qui curios simulant, et bacchanalia vivunt.

Upon serious reflection, it will not appear wonderful these are so few, notwithstanding the road of hypocrisy is the shortest a man can pursue, to arrive at the temple of Fortune; still we rarely see men endued with a sufficient degree of perseverance, to engage in so laborious an undertaking;

dertaking; for conceive the practice of virtue to be ever so arduous, the pursuit of the feigned, is much more painful than that of the true. In order to carry it on, there is need of a constant studiousness joined to a continual anxiety, and also an indefatigable watchfulness, to suppress the sallies of the soul, which without intermission is making efforts to disclose herself. There is no passion, which, like a wild beast chained, strives more forcibly to break its confinement, than that of dissimulation. The animal faculty of the heart is as plainly reflected on the countenance, as the vital is manifested in the artery. The tokens of their internal movements, may be compared to those of a clock, which has a bell that proclaims them, and a hand that points them out. There is not a word, nor an action, if not restrained by a contrary imperus, which would not follow the impulse of that animated machine. Curiosity and lust importune and tempt a man's eyes by turns; he is anxious to give vent to his bosom by his voice, and his brow manifests his impatience to do it; a pleasant jest provokes to laughter; an injury calls for vengeance, and the tongue and the ear are averse to silence. There is not a member which is not put under painful restrictions, nor a faculty that is not constrained, by being thus compelled to wear the forced appearance of composure. The strings, of which

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the harmony of an exterior modesty are composed, are infinite, and ought always to be kept violently on the stretch; the desires also of possessing beloved objects are continually tapping at the doors of the senses. What force is sufficient to resist so many impulses? or what address, equal to managing so many reins at a time?

XIII. Add to this, the apprehension of their deceit being detected; for they look upon all the eyes that surround them as so many spies of their enemies; and they are very well aware, with all their caution, of the difficulty of always preserving their souls impenetrable to foreign inspection; for let them be never so careful in shutting up their windows, there will ever remain, by imperceptible omissions, innumerable crevices; and although they may succeed in deceiving the multitude, there are never wanting transcendent spirits, who can discern and distinguish, wherever they meet with it, the natural from the artificial. Let affectation strive to imitate reality never so industriously, one or another will make his remarks, which, although they can't be explained, may be conceived, and may be compared to the character of a language, which, notwithstanding you comprehend it, you can't pronounce. The very means that are taken to conceal the soul, manifest and disclose it, because the reserve
or

or caution that is used for this purpose is visible, and it is also visible and well known, that innocent people have no need of this disguise. Every man who uses great circumspection, makes himself suspected. He who is confirmed that he possesses a good conscience, acts and speaks with openness; nor would it avail a hypocrite, to endeavour at imitating that native frankness; for he never could hit upon the true criterion of the character. Those of experience and penetration would always be able to distinguish the copy from the original; therefore I believe, that to this day, there never was a hypocrite who succeeded in deceiving all the world.

XIV. O how much less toilsome would it be for hypocrites to tread the path of true virtue, than to pursue that of false! The first affords intervals of ease and tranquillity to the mind, and also administers to it many comforts; but the fiction of virtue demands a constant labour of thought and stretch of invention to save appearances. It is like a fabric built in the air, which would fall to the ground, if you neglect a minute to keep it propped up.

XV. I may be told, that with time and practice fiction would become habitual, and then a man would find no difficulty in dissembling. Truly

I doubt whether habit has power to effect so much. When art fights against the whole bent or force of nature, I don't think the case ever happened, of the first obtaining a compleat triumph, but judge rather, that the last always remains with a residue of strength, sufficient to renew the combat. It sometimes falls out with a consummate hypocrite, as it happened to the cat converted to a fine lady in the fable of Esop. She continued to sit with much studied composure at the table, till a rat entered the room; but instantly upon the animal's appearing, hurried away by that native impulse which supercedes all caution, she with all her might threw herself on her beloved prey, and exposed her nature to the bye-standers.

XVI. But admitting, that, by long practice in deceit, a man could overcome all difficulties; this does not obviate the mistake of the hypocrite, for with a great deal less labour, and in much less time, he could have made virtue more familiar to him than dissimulation. The first is most conformable to the inclination of man as a rational creature, and he only acts in contradiction to this principle as a sensitive one; the last is a violence on his nature, both as a rational and as a sensitive one. In the land of virtue, the soul may be said to live at home; in that of deceit, she resides as a total stranger. She certainly then must find more

more fatigue and trouble in familiarizing herself to deceit, and more difficulty in making dissimulation seem natural to her than virtue.

S E C T. III.

XVII. There are notwithstanding a certain species of hypocrites, who live without fatigue, and deceive with little trouble; because the appearances they wear of virtue, are partly owing to study, and partly to temperament or constitution. They want some vices, and conceal others; or the few virtues they possess serve as a cloak or covering to hide greater vices. Thus it may be said, that the hypocrites of whom we spoke before are always labouring against wind and tide, and never get on, but by the force of hard rowing. Those of whom we are about to speak now are frequently assisted with a gale in their favour.

XVIII. Truly the pains the public take, to inform themselves of the virtues of mankind, are very slight and trivial; he who stands unimpeached in some determined particulars, may easily dispense with a great number of virtues. Emilius, for example, is regular and moderate in his diet, and is also modest in his conversation. He goes frequently to, and behaves devoutly at

church, and abstains from all illicit commerce with the other sex. He needs nothing more to make his virtue conspicuous and revered by the whole town; notwithstanding this, I know that this same Emilius vexes his neighbours with unjust and litigious prosecutions, and I also see him anxious after, and solicitous to acquire honours and riches by all sorts of means. Whatever little injury he receives, is stamped on his memory in indelible characters; and although there is great plenty in his house, no poor are ever seen at his door. He assists with great pleasure in all murmurs and cabals, and especially if they are against some man of conspicuous merit, who is likely to rival him in the estimation of the public. He favours the unjust pretensions of his associates and dependants; and, when applauding or condemning the actions of others is the subject of conversation, his tongue is always guided by his prejudices or partialities. He sets no value on the virtues of others; and if he finds they are in any shape inconvenient or incommodious to himself, he depreciates them. I observe his fawnings on, and cringings to the great, and his slights and contempt of the poor. In fine, I don't see a movement in this man, that does not point directly or indirectly to his own particular interest, which he seems determined to pursue, although in the road that leads to it he should trample under

under foot the rights and properties of other people.

XIX. With all this, the vulgar esteem him, as a just, religious, and devout man. Those few virtues are a screen or shelter to a great number of vices. Ambition, avarice, envy, malice, and hatred, have built their nests in his breast; but all this is overlooked. The false brilliancy which glitters on the surface of his continence and temperance dazzles the eyes of the public. This seems as if the world thought all sin consisted in the criminal indulgence of corporeal inclinations, and that all wickedness was confined to the operation or exercise of two or three senses. The devil is neither lascivious, nor a glutton, nor is he capable of perpetrating either of those vices, because the execution of them depends on the exertion of material powers; but he does not on this account cease in a moral sense to be the worst of all creatures.

XX. The injustice of this opinion, and the evils arising from it, are most visible in the other sex. A woman by being chaste thinks she has complied with, and fulfilled all the duties appertaining to virtue, and that, in consequence of her possessing this single good quality, she may without impeachment of her conduct be allowed to

commit every other vice with impunity. Thus having established the proofs of her chastity, she concludes she has a right to be arrogant, envious, passionate, and proud; and there even are women, whom the confirmation of their fame in point of chastity has made savage and insufferable. What plagues are such to their poor husbands, for they sell them that fidelity at an exorbitant price, which they owe to them as a just debt. Some authors have assigned this as the motive of Paulus Emilius having procured himself to be divorced from his first wife, the noble, chaste, beautiful, and prolific Papiria. Plutarch tells us of a Roman, who, when his friends blamed him for having got himself divorced from a chaste woman, of great endowments, both of body and mind, pulled off one of his shoes, and shewing it to them, said, *You see this shoe is new, handsome, and well made; but perhaps that is the very reason why it wrings and pinches my foot.* By which he meant to insinuate, that the accomplishments of his wife made her proud and insufferable.

XXI. I must confess, that I have no patience with the distinction the world makes between vices appertaining to the same species, only because of the different methods which are used in the execution of them. He is not only esteemed a thief, but a most vile and base man, who clandestinely

destinely enters another's house, and robs it of money and goods; and why does not he deserve to be stigmatized with the same epithets, who by making an unjust demand, or by using frauds, usurps another's property. The trader, for instance, who takes more than a fair profit on his goods, or deceives with regard to the quality of what he sells; or the man in office, who demands or receives more than his due, or than his trouble deserves; and, above all, the judge who suffers himself to be bribed; what difference is there between this first and last class of people? They are all cheats and robbers; and God will punish them all in the same manner, not regarding the means they used, but in proportion to the injury they did their neighbours. Notwithstanding all this, vast numbers of these people pass for very good christians; and not only so, but if they pray much, and count over many rosaries, hear mass every day, and have the insolence to frequent the sacraments, they are venerated as illustrious patterns of virtue.

XXII. But for all these may appear an heterogeneous or monstrous compound of virtue and vice, there is nothing belonging to them, which may not be supposed conformable to nature. Virtues and vices have the same root or origin, that is, the temperament or constitutions of mankind.

Thus

Thus as there is no soil so inhospitable as to produce nothing but poisonous plants, neither is there any disposition so vitiated as to nourish nothing but perverse inclinations. In no individual is nature such an enemy to reason, as to oppose it in every thing. This man is urged by gluttony, but not incited by incontinence. Another burns with impatience to be rich, and knows no other happiness than that of possessing vast treasure. A third is swayed by pride and vain-glory; and provided he receives the homage he expects, no other passion disturbs him.

XXIII. To this we may add, that vice being very ugly and deformed, every one abhors those vices, that do not correspond, or fall in with his own inclinations, and is consequently led to admire those virtues with which they are contrasted. From hence it is common for men to be reciprocally offended and scandalized with the actions of each other. We see the faults of others in their proper shape and colours, and our own in the delusive form in which our appetites represent them to us. In the first we view the horrible, in the second the delectable. The picture which passion draws of vice, resembles that which was painted by Apelles of Antigonus. That monarch had but one eye, and the ingenious painter, to hide the blemish, drew him in profile,

profile, and exhibited only that part of his face in which there was no defect. Thus passion exposes to our view the flattering side only of our own vices, and conceals the deformed, but takes a quite opposite method in inspecting those of other people.

XXIV. I contemplate sometimes, not without emotions of laughter, how the covetous man appears disgusted with, and to nauseate the incontinent one; and how the incontinent man looks with horror and abomination on the avaritious one. All this happens by the first not being stimulated by carnal desires; and the second not being diseased with the dropical thirst of gold. Every man has his strong and his weak side, or may be said to be made of brass in one part, and glass in another; but every man, by excusing himself on the pretext of his own fragility, is not aware, that all others have the same right to disculpate themselves in the same manner; and if we were to make the proper reflection on this matter, we should not be such severe critics on the actions of our neighbours. Envy would be converted to compassion, and that which at present inflames hatred, would beget charity.

XXV. It is a common error, to apply to determined or particular species of sins only the excuse

cuse of the fragility of human nature. This fragility as transcendent in all the passions, intervenes in all kinds of slips. There is no vice, which has not its natural fermentation in the complexion of the individual. The disorders which are the most distant from, or opposite to the reasonable faculties, find their patronage in the sensible ones. I confess I can't comprehend, how in our nature, can be contained geniuses so perverse, that they should take pleasure in doing mischief to other people, when by the act, no sensible good can result to themselves. With all this, it is certain that there are such people, and it is also certain, they behave in this manner, because they are under the dominion of this villainous disposition. But observe of what this fragility is compounded. If their malignant conduct did not afford them some considerable delight, they would not for the sake of indulging it run the hazard of incurring the public hatred.

XXVI. But it is proper to remark, that these men of whom we have been speaking, and who are compounded of virtue and vice, are not what they seem to be by their outside appearance. I mean, that even the virtues they are supposed to possess, will upon enquiry be found not so properly to deserve the name of virtues, as that of the mere want or absence of vices. Observe
Chryfantus,

Chryfantus: he abstains from all commerce with the other sex; and you may be led to think, this abstinence proceeds from virtue; but you would mistake, for it is the effect of insensibility; he has no stimulus which incites him to desire women, and therefore we may conclude, there is no more merit in his continence, than may be imputed to the trunk of a tree. If his abstinence had been the effect of his fear of God, he would not have been so inattentive to his conscience in other respects. Observe Aurelius: he is very sparing and moderate in his diet, both with regard to eating and drinking. You may conclude this proceeds from temperance; no such thing; Aurelius wants an appetite; the case of him in this respect is like that of a man in a fever, who forbears to eat, because he is not able; but you see, he is capable of swallowing all the goods and money he can lay his hands on; from whence we may suppose, that if his stomach was as voracious as his heart, he would be another Heliogabalus.

XXVII. These are hypocrites by constitution; and temperament compleats in them what study does in other people; theirs is not virtue, but only the semblance or image of it, although it is an image which is not formed by art, but nature.

XXVIII.

XXVIII. I have heard it said, that in the court of Rome, when they deliberate about the canonization of a saint, the point they examine with the greatest caution and nicety, is that of disinterestedness, but when the proof of this excellence is once established, they are not so prolix in their other enquiries; but abstracted from whether this is, or is not their mode of proceeding, it appears to me a very rational one on two accounts; the first is, that disinterestedness does not depend, or depends very little and remotely, on constitution; and therefore we should conclude, this good quality is more an acquisition of virtue, than a gift of nature. The second is, because this excellence may be supposed to imply or contain in it many others. The reason is, money being the means with which men gratify all their passions, it may be said to serve as an auxiliary and assistant to every kind of vice; and a man's not being greedy of money, is a token that he is not greatly under the dominion of vice. Avarice is under the controul of, and made the hackney implement of all other vices. The incontinent man seeks money to indulge his carnal desires; the glutton to satiate his intemperate and beastly appetite; the ambitious man to attain promotion; and the vindictive one to revenge himself of, and destroy his enemy. The same may be said of all other things. He then who is not anxious for
 money,

money, we may conclude, is not tainted with those vices; or we may at least take disinterestedness for the best and most certain indication of virtue.

XXIX. Those who are idolizers of applause are not good but great spirits. Enamoured with the beauty of human glory, they either are not diseased or infected with the other passions, or disdain to subject themselves to their controul. In the republic of vices also, there are distinctions of classes, and some usurp to themselves, without any just pretension to it, the rank of nobility. This presumption produces the utility of their disdaining to mix with others of inferior order. As one of this last sort we may reckon avarice, and thus the vain-glorious man will always be upon his guard to avoid falling into this meanness.

XXX. I am persuaded, that if we were to investigate nicely the cause or origin of all the heroic actions that are to be met with in the profane annals, we should find many more children of vice, than of virtue among them. The anxious hope of reward has been the occasion of winning more battles, than the love we bear to our country. How many triumphs have been owing to emulation and envy. Alexander was stimulated by the glory of Achilles, Cæsar by that of Alexander; and Pompey, when he gave battle,
had

had his attention more fixed on the victories of Cæsar, than the troops of the enemy. Many have done great things, from much more criminal incitements; for they have made their obsequies a ladder, wherewith to ascend to tyranny. How many have served a state, with a view of making the state subservient to themselves, and have first made it victorious, in order afterwards to enslave it. This was frequent and common among the most celebrated men of Greece. For this reason, eminent services to the republic became so suspicious in Athens, that they devised the law of ostracism, to punish them as crimes, and to banish those who had distinguished themselves by their great and conspicuous actions.

XXXI. You see the same thing happen with regard to services done to private people, that you do in those rendered to a state, which is, that we frequently attribute to motives of fidelity and affection, what the person employed executed only with an eye to his own interest; but when the dependence ceases, the real or true motive immediately displays itself.

XXXII. So that upon making a just estimate of things, we shall find, that the world is full of hypocrites; some who wear the deceitful appearance of particular virtues, and others who
are

are dissemblers with respect to all of them. The emperor Frederic the third said, as we are told by Eneas Silvius, that there was not any man whatever, who had not a spice of the hypocrite in his composition.

XXXIII. We should not approve, or adopt so severe a judgment; but it would be necessary in my opinion, that all princes should partake of the doubt or distrust of Frederic; for they are those who are most abused by, and the least aware of hypocrites. There is scarce any one, who lays himself quite open when he is before them. The same who are free and unreserved among their equals, are hypocrites in the presence of their superiors; and there is hardly a man, who prior to his appearing before the person who commands him, does not daub his soul over with washes, and give false colourings to his spirit, in the same manner that a strumpet paints her face, before she goes abroad, and exhibits herself to public view. Momus wished there was a window in the breast of man, whereby to discover the secrets of the bosom; but I should be contented with a door, of which the owner should keep one key, and his superior the other. These however are all flights of fancy. What reason dictates is, that the works of God are perfect.

S E C T. IV.

XXXIV. It would affect me much, if because I proceed to take off the mufflings and coverings of vice, that the world should think me one of those suspicious geniuses, who will not give any person credit for acting from good motives, and who am always endeavouring to put sinister interpretations on the causes of other peoples conduct. Those who are intimate with me, well know, that my spirit is not diseased with that truly malignant malady ; and some have remarked in me a contrary defect, to wit, that of too benevolent and charitable a criticism on the behaviour of others. Perhaps the experience of the deceits and impositions that have been put upon me, from my easiness in crediting the appearances of virtue, have made these few reflections more obvious to me, which nevertheless shall always rest with me in mere Theory ; for I am persuaded that in the practice my natural genius and disposition would ever prevail over them, as also my remembrance, that in the moral it is better to err through compassion, than to do right from motives of spite and envy. I would wish to conduct my pen so delicately, that it should wound hypocrisy, without offending charity ; and I would expose the artifices of hypocrites in such a way, as should not

not alarm or disturb the quiet of the innocent and simple.

XXXV. I will also acknowledge, that as time has helped me to discover in some people many vices, which I could not have believed; it has also assisted me to discern many virtues in others, which I had no conception of. Thus the judgment of a good-intentioned man being poised in equilibrio between reason and experience, it is easy to imagine, that his genius and disposition will incline the balance to the charitable side.

XXXVI. I have taken notice of a thing which is very remarkable, and that is, that great virtues are less perceptible than small ones. This is derived from the exercise of them not being so frequent, and the value of them not being generally understood. The going regularly to church, exterior modest deportment, taciturnity and fasting, are virtues, which strike the eyes of every one, because they are daily practised, and every body knows them. There are other virtues, that are more substantial, and which spring from more noble roots, that the vulgar are unacquainted with, because they are carried about by those who are masters of them, like ladies who go abroad *incog.* without the ostentatious parade and show of equipage. There are men, (would to God

there were more of them!) who with an open carriage, and the free correspondence and intercourse of an ordinary life, and who don't seem the least sensible or affected with mysterious niceties, that nourish within their breasts, a robust virtue and solid piety, impenetrable to the most furious batteries of the three enemies of the soul. Let Sir Thomas More, that just, wise, and prudent Englishman, whom I have always regarded with profound respect, and a tenderness approaching to devotion; I say let this man serve as an example to all men, and stand as a pattern to future ages, of all the virtues and excellencies I have been describing.

XXXVII. If we view the exterior part of the life of Sir Thomas More, we only see an able politician, simple in his manners, engaged in a department of the state, and attentive to the affairs of the king and kingdom, always suffering himself to be waisted by the gale of fortune, without soliciting honours, and without refusing to accept of them; in private life, open, courteous, gentle, cheerful, and even fond of a convivial song, frequently partaking, in the halls of mirth, of the jovial relaxations of the mind, and in the circulation of wit and pleasantry, always innocent, but never shewing the least symptom of austerity. His application in literature was directed, indifferently

ferently and alternately, to the study of sacred and profane learning, and he made great advances in both the one and the other. His great application to, and proficiency in the living languages of Europe, represent him as a genius desirous of accommodating himself to the world at large. His works, except such as he composed in prison during the last year of his life, seemed more to favour of politics than religion. I speak of the subject of them, not of the motive with which he wrote them. In his description of Utopia, which was truly ingenious, delicate, and entertaining, he lets his pen run so much on the interests of the state, as makes it seem as if he was indifferent about the concerns of religion.

XXXVIII. Who in this image or description of Sir Thomas More, would recognize that glorious martyr of Christ, and that generous hero, whose constancy to the obligations of his religion could not be bent or warped, neither by the threats or promises of Henry VIII. nor a hard imprisonment of fourteen months, nor the persuasions and intreaties of his wife, nor by the sad prospect of seeing his family and children reduced to misery and beggary, nor by the privation of all human comfort, in taking from him all his books, nor finally by the terrors of a scaffold placed before his eyes? So certain is it, that the

qualities of great souls are not to be discovered, but by the touch-stone of great occasions and hard trials, and may be compared to large flints, which only manifest their smooth or shining surfaces by the execution of hard blows.

XXXIX. Sir Thomas More was the same while he was a prisoner of state, as when he was High Chancellor of England; the same in adverse, as in prosperous fortune; the same ill treated, as in high favour; the same in the prison, as seated at the head of the Court of Chancery; but adversity manifested and made visible his whole heart, of which the greatest and best part had before laid hid. This great man used to give to his own virtues an air of humanity and condescension, which in the eyes of the vulgar abated their splendour; but in proportion as it obscured the lustre of them to their view, it augmented it in the sight of all men of discernment and penetration. It once happened when he was High Chancellor, that a gentleman, who had a suit depending before him, made him a present of two silver bottles: It was inconsistent with his dignity or integrity to accept the present; and how did Sir Thomas conduct himself? Did he fall into a passion against the suitor for having offered an affront to his reputation? Did he punish the criminal audacity of the man, for attempting to corrupt and
make

make venal the functions of his duty? Did he manifest before his domestics any disinterested delicacy, or appear scandalized at the temptation? No; he did none of all this, because nothing of this sort was correspondent to the nobleness or generous turn of his mind. He received the bottles with a good grace, and immediately gave orders to one of his servants to fill them with the best wine he had in his cellar, and carry them back to the gentleman, together with this courteous message, *That it gave him great pleasure to have an opportunity of obliging him, and that any sort of wine he had in his house was much at his service.* Expressing, by this prudent seeming insensibility or want of apprehension, that he supposed that was the purpose for which the gentleman sent the bottles. In this manner he joined integrity to gentleness of reproof, and correction with courteous behaviour; and by so much the less parade he made of his own purity, by so much the more was the confusion of the gentleman diminished.

XL. It is clear, that the heroic constancy with which he supported his adherence to his religion, was not the effect of a strained violence on his nature, but proceeded from innate virtue, which acts in all things and on all occasions according to the habitual dispositions of the mind; for al-

ways, to the very crisis of his suffering, he preserved the native cheerfulness of his disposition. He did not appear less festive, nor less tranquil in chains, than he had before appeared in the banquet room. During the time of his trial he was all composure, and when it was drawing near a conclusion, and those iniquitous judges, who had already sacrificed their consciences to the will of their sovereign, were on the point, to please and flatter him, of delivering that innocent man, as a victim to his resentment, the barber came to shave him, and just as he was going to begin his work, Sir Thomas recollected himself, and said *Hold, as the King and I at present are contending to whom this head belongs, in case it should be adjudged to him, it would be wrong for me to rob him of the beard, so you must desist.* Being about to ascend the scaffold, and finding himself feeble, he begged one who was near to aid him in getting up the ladder, saying to him at the same time, *Assist me to get up, for be assured I shan't trouble you to help me down again.* O eminent virtue! O spirit truly sublime, who mounted the scaffold with the same festive cheerfulness, that he would sit down to a banquet! Let men of little minds and narrow souls contemplate this example, and learn to know, that true virtue does not consist in the observance of forms and scrupulous niceties.

S E C T.

S E C T. V.

XLI. O how many antipodes in morality to Sir Thomas More are to be found in every state! for both in the east and the west you will meet with many of those ridiculous scare-crows, who lead a kind of hermetic life, and are called sanctified or holy men; but those of this day don't mortify themselves so much, and offend other people more, than those of former times were used to do. With a displeasing gravity, and forbidding look, that amounts to sour sternness; a conversation so opposite to the cheerful, that it borders on the extreme of clownish surliness; a zeal so harsh and severe, that it degenerates into cruelty; a scrupulous observance of rites and ceremonies, that approaches to superstition; and by the mere want or absence of a few vices; I say, that with the help of these appearances, they, without more cost or trouble, set themselves up as patterns or images of ultimate perfection; and they are truly images in the strict sense of the word, for their whole value consists in their external shape and figure; and I besides call them images, because they are not endued or informed with a true, but with the sham, semblance of a spirit. I repeat again that they are images, because they are hard as marble, and insensible and unfeeling as the
trunks

trunks of trees. In the morality that directs them, gentleness of manners, affability, and pity, are blotted out of the catalogue of virtues. I have not even yet said enough. Those two sensible characteristics of charity, pointed out by St. Paul, that is to say, patience and benevolence, are so foreign to their dispositions, that they are inclined to consider them as signs of relaxation of discipline, or at least of lukewarmness. They assume the figure of saints, without possessing more sanctity than the stock or stone images of such, and would number themselves among the blessed, wanting the requisites which the gospel expresses to constitute them, (deserving of being inserted in that catalogue) which are meekness, compassion, and a conciliatory spirit. *Beati mites, beati misericordes, beati pacifici,*

XLII. It is also certain, that virtue is tinged with, or wears a different hue, according to the genius or disposition of the subject in whom it exists, and on this account, in different individuals it appears in different colours. Notwithstanding this, we ought in the mixture or combination to distinguish what is derived solely from virtue, and what is produced by the intervention of constitution. There are men of a harsh, choleric, unpleasant cast of mind, who at the same time are virtuous; but their virtue on this account is not harsh, choleric, and displeasing, but rather

rather in its operations, by means of its innate good qualities, corrects those defects. The misfortune is, that these defects of temper confound the understanding and pervert the judgment; and in consequence of this perversion of the judgment, virtue is prevented from amending the defects of the genius. A virtuous man, who is of an impetuous, violent, and unfavoury disposition, when placed in command, is easily brought to think, he finds himself in circumstances where prudence dictates that he should use rigour; whereas one of an excessive gentle and mild genius can never persuade himself that contingent is arrived. Both one and the other discharge and preserve their consciences, and the public are the sufferers by their mistakes, but in a very different degree, according to the diversity of the employments or destinations of such people. The very gentle man is most pernicious in external policy, and the rigorous in internal. An excess of clemency, and forbearing to put in execution criminal laws, in cases where the offences committed are injurious to the public at large, is a very great evil. In matters that concern the reformation, or internal amendment of souls, rigour is not only useless, but prejudicial, because the fear of temporal punishment does not make penitents, but hypocrites; it only removes the external execution of vice, and concentrates the evil intention within the

the soul, where it produces a new sin, in the hatred it excites against the judge.

S E C T. VI.

XLIII. I have observed, that for the sincere conversion or turning of mens hearts, benignity and gentle treatment has done miracles, in cases where rigour has been found ineffectual. Two illustrious examples of this sort, which in different ages have been exhibited on the theatre of France, occur to me at present. The first is that of Peter Abelard, a most subtile logician, and famous broacher of heresies in the twelfth century. The adventures of this man were extraordinary, and he for the most part experienced adverse fortune. He suffered many persecutions, some of which were unjust ones; but neither the just nor the unjust were capable of subduing his mind, or mitigating the contentious vivacity of his spirit. His errors, after innumerable debates, were condemned by the council of Sens, at which St. Bernard assisted. He appealed from the sentence to Pope Innocent the second, who confirmed the decision of the council; and added to it, that his books should be burnt, and the author imprisoned for life. Abelard had an infinite number of enemies, many of whom were not so from their zeal to religion, but from many other very different motives.

tives. As an augmentation of his misfortunes, there was scarce any one who did not exclaim against him, and cry aloud for the execution of the sentence. In this deplorable situation of Abelard, there was only one man who had generosity enough to take the favourable side of the question, and interest himself on his behalf. This was that most pious and wise person St. Peter Venerable, abbot of the great monastery of Cluni, who solicited and obtained of the Pope, Abelard's pardon. He also reconciled him with St. Bernard, which amounted to the same thing as indemnifying against the public hatred. Besides this, as a remedy for all his reverses of fortune, he offered him an asylum in his monastery of Cluni, which monastery received him in its arms like a loving father, and gave him the habit of a monk.

It will be proper to observe here, that Eloisa, a sensible, beautiful, and noble French lady, was in her youth in love with, and beloved by Abelard, to such an excess, that their love broke through all the fences of honour. Historians relate a very singular circumstance of this woman, which is, that Abelard being desirous of marrying her, she, notwithstanding her prodigious fondness for him, rejected the proposal, and chose rather to continue his concubine than be his wife, alledging

ledging as her motive for this conduct, that she would not by her marriage deprive the church of the great lustre that might be reflected on it by the sublime genius of Abelard, although in the end she, by the importunities and threats of her friends and relations, was prevailed on to espouse him. She afterwards took the veil, and became an exemplary religious. She always maintained a very tender and affectionate correspondence with Abelard, but at the same time in very chaste terms, and such as were conformable to the rules of virtue and decorum. As soon as she was informed of Abelard's death, she begged of St. Peter Venerable, that he would let her have his body, that she might bury it in the convent where she was prelate; and the pious abbot granted her request. It appears by the epistles of Abelard, that Eloisa was universally beloved and respected for her virtue and discretion. He says, the bishops loved her as a daughter, the abbesses as a sister, and the seculars as a mother.

The effect which this generous benignity of St. Peter Venerable had upon Abelard was admirable. He not only became a monk, but a most exemplary one, and a shining pattern of all kinds of virtues, of which St. Peter Venerable gives irrefragable testimony in his letter to Eloisa on the occasion of his death, which letter is filled with
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the highest eulogiums on the virtues of Abelard. He says in one part of it, that he does not remember to have seen a man so humble as he; and in another, that it was matter of admiration, to observe a person so famous and of so great a name have so lowly an opinion of himself. In another, he says, his understanding, his tongue, and his works, were always employed on celestial objects. And in another, he compares him to the great Gregory in the following words: *Nec (sicut de magno Gregorio legitur) momentum aliquod præterire sinebat, quin semper aut oraret, aut legeret, aut scriberet, aut dictaret.* These eulogiums are confirmed, and if possible exceeded, in the chronicle of the monastery of Cluny, which says, that, from the time of his taking the habit of a monk, his thoughts, words, and actions, were always divine: *Et deinde mens ejus, lingua ejus, opus ejus, semper divina fuere.*

XLIV. So that this man, who could not be made to bend to the most learned men of France, who were engaged in continual controversies with him; nor to the force of the civil power, exerted against him various times at the instance of his enemies; nor to the ecclesiastical prelates, nor to the authority of a council, nor to the zeal and learning of a St. Bernard: This man I say, on whom all these exertions had no influence,
submitted

submitted to the gentle, compassionate, and benevolent spirit of St. Peter Venerable. The estimation and tenderness, with which this saint always regarded Abelard after his conversion, was very great, as is evident from two epitaphs he wrote to grace his tomb. I shall insert a part of each of them here, by which may be seen the high opinion he entertained of the learning and wisdom of this eminent man.

First epitaph.

*Gallorum Socrates, Plato maximus hesperiarum
Noster Aristoteles, Logicis, quicumque fuerunt,
Aut par, aut melior, studiorum cognitus orbi
Princeps, ingenio varius, subtilis, et acer;*

Second epitaph.

*Petrus in hac petra latitat, quem mundus Homerum
Clamabat, sed jam sydera sydus habent.
Sol erat hic Gallis, sed eum jam fata tulerunt:
Ergo caret Regio Gallica sole sua,
Ille sciens quidquid fuit ulli scibile, vicit
Artifices, artes absque docente docens.*

XLV. The second example, which is still more striking and illustrious than the first, is that of the Huguenots in the reign of Charles the ninth, in the diocese of Lizieux in Normandy. The learned dominican John Henuyer, who had been confessor

confessor to Henry the second, was bishop of that diocese, when orders came from the king to the governor of Normandy, to put to the sword all the Huguenots of that province. The venerable prelate opposed the execution of the order as far as it related to his own diocese so efficaciously, by declaring that he would sooner submit his own throat to the knife, than consent to the death of those heretics, whom he had always considered as sheep of his flock, although they had gone astray, and used such other arguments, as prevailed on the governor to suspend the execution of the orders ; and the king, moved with the firmness and zeal of the pious bishop, revoked the decree with respect to the Huguenots of that bishopric. The hand of Omnipotence heaped blessings on the paternal affection which bishop Henuyer manifested to his flock, and on the pious exertion he made to save their lives at all events ; and (O wonderful to relate!) in none of the other parts of France, where rivers of Huguenot blood had been spilt in the execution of the king's orders, was the heresy extinguished, but on the diocese of Lisieux only, did God confer this great blessing. The experience of the paternal bowels and feeling of their prelate for them made such an impression on the hearts of the Huguenots of that district, that they all, without a single exception, became converts to the catholic faith. Thus does benignity triumph

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over

over the most stubborn hearts, when managed and conducted with a pious zeal and consummate prudence.

S E C T. VII.

XLVI. But to return to our subject, as all that was introduced in the preceding section was by way of digression : I say, that among the groupe of those severe saturnine geniuses, of whom we were just before speaking, are to be found the worst species of all hypocrites. I speak of those censurers of other people's conduct and behaviour, who pretend to do it out of zeal, and to promote the welfare of those they fall upon. These act as if they were ministers vested with full powers from Hell, or were a *quid pro quo* of the Devil, because their whole occupation is pointing out the sins of mankind ; a race so diabolical, that they are at variance with their neighbours, and friends with the vices of their neighbours. They pretend they love the first, and abhor the last, but it is quite the reverse. They are always busied in throwing biting reflections on their neighbours, and at the same time licking their chops with a longing desire to taste of their sins. There is no news so pleasing to them, as this or that person having made such and such a slip. This is their favourite

favourite little aliment, because it affords pabulum to feed and nourish their malevolence.

They exclaim furiously, and with all their might, against sinful and sensual practices, and wreck their inventions for hyperboles to exaggerate the wickedness of them; and after they have glutted their revenge on a miserable individual they have been abusing, they direct the rage of their thunder against the public at large, and cry out, the people are all going the high road to perdition: God defend us, for the like never was seen! Their daily text is the *O tempora! O mores!* of Cicero. The matter of their ordinary conversations is truly and properly matter, as it is all putrefaction and corruption; for they talk of nothing but turpitudes and uncleanness. They reserve for their own use and purposes Satan's Gazette, where the news is distributed in articles and paragraphs received from different quarters; as for example: We hear by an express arrived from such a street, dated such a day of the month, which was brought by an herb woman, that Mr. A—— has made great advances in his negotiations with Madam B——, and although in the beginning he met with some difficulties, by proposing more advantageous and agreeable terms, he was at last admitted to a private audience. In this manner it proceeds to give an account of

various other matters, and always, as is customary, tells us something about the court; as for instance: His majesty Pluto and all his family, although they can't fail to be incommoded with the excessive heats which prevail in his territories, continue for all that to pass their time very jollily, by the entertainment they find in hunting all sorts of sins, which is a game that is found in great abundance in every quarter of his infernal majesty's dominions. But to be serious: Those who blazon or aggravate the vices that are most frequent or prevailing in a place or town, do a great injury which they are not aware of, which is removing from many a certain impediment, which withholds or restrains them from falling into those very vices. When speaking of the vice of incontinence, for example, a man exclaims, The city in this respect is in a total state of depravity; that the dissoluteness which pervades in it is horrid and unbridled; that already with a little reserve, or without any at all, you can scarce find a man that is continent, or a woman that is chaste; and truly this is the vice, against which they most frequently make such declamations. Some hear this, who till then had entertained no such idea of the thing, and who were continent from the apprehension of being exposed, and the fear of being repulsed by this or that woman. This, to those who are withheld from being incontinent, principally

pally or solely by the shame of being remarked, or that of being ignominiously repulsed, takes away in part, or removes totally, the chief impediment which restrained them from rushing into criminal amours. If all, says each of these to himself, or nearly all the men in the town, are guilty of this vice, my share of disgrace by falling into it will be but small, as I shall only bear my proportion as one among so large a number; and if all, or nearly all the women, are disposed to be lewd and wanton, it will rarely happen that I shall meet with one who won't yield to my solicitations. Some, from not foreseeing the inconvenience, are betrayed into this absurdity by their zeal, and commit the mistake with the best intentions. I have many times heard preachers exclaim with great fervor, that the town is filled with scandals and turpitudes; that there is scarce a house, which in every corner of it is not burning with the infernal fire of lust. I intreat most earnestly all those who exercise this sacred function, and God is the judge of the sincerity and pious intention with which I make the request, that they would abstain from such like declamations, for the mischief they produce is greater than the benefits which are derived from them.

XLVII. But to resume the thread of our discourse, what we have just finished saying being

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rather

rather an addition to, or digression from, our main or principal subject. The hypocrites we mentioned last, are such as conceal their malice under the cloak or pretence of zeal; but there are others who are such at their own expence, because in order to appear virtuous, they punish themselves, by abstaining from many things their appetites prompt them to desire; whereas all the cost of the first sort is defrayed at the expence of their neighbour's honour. It is true that this rule admits of some exceptions, for there are those so malignant, who, to wound with certainty another's fame, would many times commit a violence on their own inclinations. They would abstain from the external exercise of those vices, which they point out in others, be it ever so painful to them, in order that they may censure them with the greater freedom. Unhappy passion! Detestable hypocrisy!

S E C T. VIII.

XLVIII. There remains for us to say something on two particulars, by the intervention of which, vice is frequently revered as virtue: The first is the exterior resemblance of certain vices to certain virtues; for as every virtue is placed between two vicious extremes, many of these last wear the appearance of the first. Thus
prodigality

prodigality often passes for liberality, rashness for valour, obstinacy for firmness, cunning for prudence, and pusillanimity for moderation. It is also the same with respect to many other things.

XLIX. The second is, the material commission of an act, abstracted from the turpitude of the end it was done to answer. If we were to explore the motives that intervene in an infinite number of actions, which are right to outward appearance; we should perceive, they were derived from indirect principles, and performed to answer perverse purposes. It is very common for one vice to be an obstacle to the external operation or execution of another. This man is continent to avoid spending his money; that, because he is terrified by the danger of the enterprize. In the first continence is the child of avarice; in the second, of pusillanimity. This one puts on the shew of humility, because he is a candidate for favour and promotion; another, to avoid the exposing himself to a quarrel. In the first, humility springs from ambition, in the second it is derived from cowardice. Much more might be said on these two heads; but, as the subject matter of them has been largely treated of in various other books, we shall rest the thing here, and content ourselves with the slight observations we have already made.

T H E V A L U E
O R
S U P E R I O R E X C E L L E N C E
O F
N O B I L I T Y.

With some Remarks on the Power or Influence of HIGH BLOOD.

I. **H**E would do great service to the nobility, who could separate their vanity from their quality; for it is almost as difficult to find this dignity free from that vice, as it is to find silver in the mines without a mixture of earth. Splendour of ancestry is a fire, which produces much smoke in descendents. There is nothing of which people should be less vain than their high origin, and there is nothing of which they are more so. The best pens in all ages, both sacred

cred and profane, have laboured to persuade, that there is no pride worse founded than that which is built upon high birth. The world perseveres in its error, and there is no flattery better received than that which compliments a man on the grandeur of his race; nor is there any adulation more hacknied and transcendent; to be convinced of which, you need only read epistles dedicatory to books. Flattery in them commonly guides the pen, and you will hardly find one which omits to lay great stress on the nobleness and antiquity of the family of the person to whom he consigns the protection of his book; and they do this, because it is pretty well known there is scarce any man so candid or modest, as not to be pleased with this eulogium.

II. From hence spring those wild and extravagant genealogies, fabricated by some flatterers, in order to compliment, and by that means cultivate the favour and protection of great and powerful people. Basil the first, emperor of the East, was a man of obscure birth. The patriarch Phocio, finding himself out of his good graces, endeavoured to regain his favour, by forming a genealogical chain, which made him descended from Tiridates king of Armenia, who reigned in that country eight centuries anterior to Basil. The descent which Abraham Brovius gives to
 pope

pope Sylvester the second, which begun in Timen-
nus king of Argos, who flourished more than a
thousand years before Christ, in all likelihood was
not fabricated by Brovius, but was probably
found among some papers, written in the life-time
of that pope, by some person who composed the
thing to flatter him. Roderig Flaharti wrote, a
little while since, the history of some transactions
relating to Ireland, in which he assigns two thou-
sand seven hundred years of antiquity to the kings
of England in their possession of the throne.

III. If you ascend two generations anterior to
Rodulfus count of Augsburg, there is no family
of more doubtful origin than that of the house
of Austria. Upon coming to the grandfather of
Rodulfus, historians find themselves surrounded
with such thick darkness, that they don't know
which way to turn themselves; nor is it a point
beyond contest, who the grandfather of Rodul-
fus was. Notwithstanding this, there have not
been wanting Spanish historians, who, by running
up the line of their ancestors, have without touch-
ing or tripping traced them to the destruction
of Troy. Penafiel de Contreras, an author of
Grenada, went further than this; for, as Mota
la Vayer informs us, he fabricated a genealogical
chain of one hundred and eighteen successions,
and made Philip the third descend in a right line
7 from

from Adam ; and because the duke of Lorma, Philip's favourite at that time, should not be under less obligations to his pen, he formed another of a hundred and twenty-one from Adam to the duke, entwining the sovereign and favourite with two kings of Troy and with Eneas, by means of their two sons Hus and Asaracus, from one of which he made the king descend, and from the other the duke.

IV. There have not been wanting in other nations those who have flattered their princes to the same excess. John Meffanius derived the succession of the kings of Sweden, without the least interruption, from the primitive father of mankind ; and William Slater did the same thing, in compliment to James the first of England.

V. Truly one would be apt to think, that such fulsome incense must stink in the nose of the idol to whom it is offered ; for Vespasian despised some flatterers, who derived him from the stock of Hercules ; and Cardinal Mazarine treated with great scorn one who traced his origin to Titus Geganius Macerinus, and Proculus Geganius Macerinus, ancient consuls of Rome. Thus those lose the fruits of their adulation, who pour it forth without bounds.

VI.

VI. But to return to our subject: I repeat, that there is no pre-eminence people have less reason to boast of, than that of nobility; every other is personal, and proper to a man's self; this is derived, and may be deemed the reflection of a borrowed light. Nobility is a mere extrinsic denomination, and if you would make it an intrinsic one, it must be done by rational means. The virtue of our forefathers was their own, not ours; and Ovid, in the following compendious sentence, expressed all that is capable of being said on the subject:

*Nam genus, & proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco.*

VII. It is true, that in a certain manner the excellencies of our progenitors illustrate us, but they illustrate us as the sun does the moon, by exposing our spots and blemishes if we degenerate from them. I have seen, in some coats of arms, stars quartered, which seems as if he who acquired this blazon gained it by his merit; because, after the manner of a star, he shone by his own light. It is probable, that in many of his successors they should take away the stars, and substitute moons in their places, to denote that they only shine like this luminary by virtue of a borrowed light. The following eulogium, which Veileius Paterculus bestowed on Cicero, always
appeared

appeared to me extremely elegant and magnificent : *Per hæc tempora Marcus Cicero, qui omnia incrementa sua sibi debuit, vir novitatis nobilissimæ, &c.* Cicero owed all his fortune to himself, because although he sprung from an obscure family, he without any other support but that of his own merit ascended to the first honours of Rome. I would much rather this should be said of me, than that I was descended in a right line from Augustus Cæsar.

S E C T. II.

VIII. But there is no necessity for dwelling upon a subject which is common, and on which so many and so fine things have been written, that all I could add to them would be like contributing a small fountain to the ocean, or a little stone to the mountain of Mercury. My intention is only to banish a vulgar error, which is entertained of this matter, and which ferments greatly in the imaginations of people of quality.

IX. It is commonly said, that good or bad blood has its occult influence on thoughts and actions, and that as in the ordinary course of nature the genius of the tree follows that of the seed, and the fruit that of the tree; so it is with mankind, who, according to the stock from
whence

whence they are derived, copy after the customs and manners of their ancestors. This prepossession in favour of nobility is so general among the vulgar, that there are several adages made use of in their common conversation to express it; and you will at every turn, when a man well born has done a bad action, hear them say, he has not behaved like what he is; as on the contrary, if the same thing is related of a poor man, they answer, you could not expect any better of him, considering from whence he sprung.

X. If this was really so, the estimation the nobility enjoy might with great justice be ascribed to, and conferred on them; but far from being the case, there is scarce any other erroneous opinion, that has so many and so evident testimonies to contradict it. In what kingdom of the world do we not at present see the same thing come to pass, which formerly happened at Rome; a Cicero of obscure extraction, ennobling himself and his country with illustrious actions; and, by way of contrast to him, a most noble Catiline, debasing himself and family by licentiousness and treachery; or the same which was heretofore seen at Athens, a Socrates the son of a blacksmith, replete with virtues, contrasted with a Critias, who was the worthless disciple of so great a master, and an unworthy descendent of a brother of Solon's, whom

whom neither nobility nor philosophy could withhold or restrain from behaving like a monster, compounded or made up of abominable vices.

XI. What Plutarch says of the kings, who were the successors of those captains, among whom the empire of Alexander was divided, is very remarkable. What progenitors could be more illustrious, than those heroes, to whom in a great measure the Macedonian chief owed such glorious conquests? But all the descendants, says Plutarch, of these generous leaders, were people of evil, and perverse customs and manners. All? Yes all without the least reserve? *Omnes parricidiis, et incestis libidinibus, infames fuere.* Let the nobility contemplate this, and then say, what dependence they can place on the future virtue of their race.

XII. The reflection of Elius Spartianus is still stronger. This writer says, that by casting your eyes over history, you will see clearly, that there is scarce a great man who has figured in the world, that has left a son who was a worthy successor of his father, that is, one who proved equally good and useful to the state: *Et reputanti mihi, neminem prope magnorum virorum optimum, et utilem filium reliquisse, satis liquet.* (Spartian. in vita Severi.)

XIII.

XIII. There is no doubt but you will frequently meet in history, accounts of unworthy children, who were descended from good parents. Germanicus is so generously disinterested, that he refuses the empire when it is offered him by the army ; and his daughter Agripina so determinedly ambitious, that she sacrifices shame, and even life itself, to the thirst of dominion. Octavianus is modest and reserved, and besides possesses many other excellent qualities ; his daughter Juliana scandalizes Rome with her indecencies. Cicero, view him on which side you will, is a most elevated genius ; the son, who only resembled his father in name, was heavy, stupid, and a man of no other ability, but that of drinking a great deal of wine. Quintus Hortensius was the competitor of Cicero, in oratory, political talents, and zeal for his country ; his son departed so widely from the foot-steps of his father, that he was in danger of being disinherited, but, bad as the son was, the grandson was still worse. Septimus Severus, with the exception of his excessive rigour, was an accomplished prince ; his son Antoninus Caracalla neither deserved the name of a prince, nor to be called a man. To the prudent and wise Marcus Aurelius succeeded the brutal and unbridled Commodus ; to the glorious Constantine, the unworthy Constantius ; to the magnanimous Theodosius,

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dofius, the timorous Arcadius, and the pusillanimous Honorius. But endeavouring to establish general rules upon these and such like examples, is giving a large scope to the pen.

XIV. Although we may with certainty affirm, that being allied in blood does not produce a similitude of manners; this truth is invincibly proved, by the great variance of dispositions we frequently meet in brothers. If the children of the same father were to be like him, they would also be like one another. How then can we account for the great difference that is so frequently observed between them? One is courageous, another timid; one liberal, another avaritious; one ingenious, another dull; one rakish, another reserved, and the same in every other instance.

S E C T. III.

XV. Of this variety of defects and virtues in the same blood, we have a striking example in the Antonian family, who were people of note and fame in ancient Rome. Marcus Antonius, called the orator, may be said to be the man who raised this house; for the Antonian family, which was so well known in the first ages of Rome, became divided into two branches; the one that was called Patrician became extinct; and from the
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other, which was called Plebeian, although it is not known by what accident they fell from their ancient splendour, sprung Marcus Antonius. This man, who was of humble extraction, by his rare and excellent qualities, raised himself to the first charges in the republic; and exercised them gloriously; but his two sons Marcus Antonius, called Creticus, and Cayus Antonius, degenerated entirely from the excellencies of their great father, and were men without virtue, without conduct, and without valour. To Marcus Antonius Creticus, succeeded Marcus Antonius the triumvir, in whom the vices of his father were augmented, although he inherited part of the virtues of his grandfather, for he was a good soldier and no bad politician, but a glutton, a drunkard, and lascivious, and this last failing, caused him to sacrifice his life and his fortune to the beauty of the dishonest Cleopatra. From so bad a father descended an admirable daughter, the wise, beautiful, modest, prudent, and spirited Antonia. This eminent woman, who was beyond doubt the ornament of Rome in her day, had two sons and a daughter, which differed as greatly in their dispositions and manners, as if their blood and education had been diametrically opposite. Germanicus the eldest, turned out an able, discreet, mild, generous, and modest prince. Claudius, who was afterwards emperor, was so stupid, and differed so

so greatly from his brother and mother, that she was used to say her son Claudius was a monster, for that nature had begun to make him a man, but had never finished the work. Livilla, the sister of these two, was another species of monster, for she was convicted of adultery, and murdering her own husband. But the dissimilitude which we have hitherto remarked among the individuals of this family, may be called trivial, compared to that which appeared between Germanicus and his son Caligula; the first was an harmonious compound of virtues and graces, the last the tail or sag end of abominations; in fine, he was so bad, that people were used to say, nature had made him as he was to shew to what a degree mankind could be formed perverse. I have exposed to view, the signal inequality, which in native disposition and manners, there was between the individuals of the Antonian family, in order to illustrate, the little dependence that is to be placed on how the children will turn out, by conjectures, founded on the influence or example of the parents. If we were to make the same analysis of other families, we should find the same inequality with but little or no difference.

S E C T. IV.

XVI. I am aware, however, of the argument that may be used in favour of the vulgar opinion. I may be told, that customs and manners are commonly derived from the genius or disposition, and the genius or disposition from temperament. How else could the constitution of parents be communicated to their children, by means of which communication we see them inherit their infirmities? In the same manner then, may their geniuses and dispositions be communicated.

XVII. But this argument fails in many parts of it; first, because by the commixture of the two sexes, which is indispensable in generation, there may result to the children a third temperament, unlike to that of both father and mother. Secondly, because it is not probable, that the seminal matter is in all its parts homogeneous; and to this principle, I think, should chiefly be attributed the notable dissimilarity that we find in some brothers. Thirdly, because many different principles have their influence on the temperament; for example, the accidental disposition of the parents at the time of generation, the various affections of the mother during the formation of the foetus, the alterations of the atmosphere in this period,
childrens

childrens aliment in their infancy, and many other things.

XVIII. From hence I conclude, the vulgar prognostic, that the short or long lives of children, depend upon the much or little time their parents lived, is to the last degree fallible and void of all probability, because from all the principles we have pointed out, the temperament of the parents with respect to the children, may be vitiated or amended; for we every day see healthy children born of sickly parents, and sickly children born of healthy ones. It is true, that there are some diseases which have the stamp or mark of hereditary ones; but I conclude, this originates, or is derived from a vitiated quality which pervades the whole seminal matter; but this is proper or confined to very few diseases, nor is it so proper or certain with regard to those few, as not to be many times falsified. My father was gouty, but I am not so, neither is any one of my brothers.

XIX. I add, that even admitting some communication of genius or manners from parents to children, this argument in no shape favours the ancient nobility, who are descended from a very remote origin; the reason is, because in every generation there is a sensible alteration, sufficient to introduce some dissimilitude with respect to the

immediate progenitor, and in the accumulation of many, the unlikeness becomes so great, as in a manner to efface all appearance of kindred or relation between them. What expectation then can a man entertain, of inheriting even a small portion of the generosity of his illustrious progenitors, the heroes from whom he derived the lustre of his house, and to whom he looks up, at the remote distance of many centuries? By so many more grandfathers he reckons, by so many more degrees is he removed from the original generous influence. In every generation he goes on to lose a part of it; and when they become very numerous, he at last arrives at losing it intirely. It is most likely that the Thespiades, or sons which Hercules had by the daughters of Thespis, inherited a good portion of the strength of their father; and that, in the sons of the Thespiades, the robustness of the grandfather was more curtailed, and that the descendants of these, in the course of two or three generations, would come to be no stronger than the ordinary race of men.

S E C T. V.

XX. I should here conclude this discourse, if none but nobility were to read it; but as it is my intention to cure the nobles of their vanity, without exempting the humble from paying them all

due respects, it is necessary to advert to, and guard against the inconvenience that may result from these last omitting to do it ; for although it is just to restrain pride in the nobility, it is right and fit that the common people should behave to them with respect.

XXI. But strong as the reasons may be, which we have alledged against the intrinsic worth of nobility, it can't be denied, that the authority which favours it is of more force than all our arguments. Every cultivated and well regulated nation in the world, adopts and countenances this pre-eminence, which amounts to little less, than its being generally assented to by the bulk of mankind ; and a universal opinion, rises superior to an ordinary one, and ought to prevail against every thing which is not self-evident, or supported by undeniable testimony.

XXII. The vanity (says the famous Magdalen Scudery, in the fourth volume of her *Cyrus*) which is derived only from our progenitors, is not well founded ; but for all this, this illustrious chimera, which so soothes and flatters the hearts of all mankind, is so universally established throughout the world, that it can't fail to obtain the veneration and regard of it. It is certain, that in many things common usage hurries us on against

reason, but in others reason dictates to us that we should conform to the common practice, and this is the predicament, with respect to the subject we are treating of, that we find ourselves in at present.

XXIII. It is however true that I have my doubts, whether this common estimation of nobility has arose of itself, or whether it is derived from an adjunct quality that is annexed to it, which is power. Noblemen are generally rich, and it may be doubted, whether the adoration that is paid to this idol called nobility, was introduced by the respect people bore to the image or figure, or the gold of which it was made. What we see is, that the nobles who fall off in riches, proceed with the same pace that they decrease in these to lose the estimation in which they were held; and although there will always remain to them some respect, who can determine, whether this proceeds from the occult influence of their generous race, or from a common habit we are in of holding them in esteem? It may also happen, that a noble reduced from opulence to poverty, may be venerated as the relic of an idol, which heretofore had been worshiped.

XXIV. It is therefore necessary, to seek for some more solid ground than any we have hitherto gone

gone over, whereon to build the estimation which should be enjoyed by the nobility, and such, no doubt is to be found in reason, abstracted from the support of authority. It is a fixed maxim in ethics, that to every kind of excellence some honour is due; the general consent then of mankind, the regard shewn them by princes, and the privileges allowed them by the laws, having placed the nobility in a degree of superiority above that of other people; I say these considerations, ought to make us look upon nobility as a kind of excellence, to which, in consequence of its being such, we owe respect and honour.

XXV. And here it will be proper to remark, that this debt is not barred or cancelled by any uncertainty, that may arise concerning the origin of those who are accepted as nobles. The reason is, because their being generally acknowledged and received as such, is sufficient to place them in that degree of superiority; for we can't require more examination of their descent, in order to respect them, than the laws require which favour them. He would be a very extraordinary man, who could arrive at giving physical proof of who is his father; but his not being able to do this, does not absolve any one from the indispensable obligation of reverencing the man as such, who is generally esteemed and reputed to be his father.

XXVI.

XXVI. This debt of veneration to the nobility, should be understood in all cases, with a reservation of what is due, and properly appertains, to virtue, which according to the constant doctrine of Aristotle, and St. Thomas, is much more worthy of honour than nobility; therefore, even with that civil and extrinsic honour, which in their ethics those two great masters speak of, we ought more to reverence a virtuous Plebeian, than a nobleman without virtue. Our cardinal Aguirre, when he is explaining philosophy, in the third chapter of his fourth book of ethics, says, that a vicious nobleman is unworthy of all honour and respect; to which sentiment I subscribe, because it is conformable to a maxim of the angelic doctor, who (22 quæst. 145. art. 1.) having said, that honour properly and principally was only due to virtue, admits, that other qualities and excellencies inferior to her, such as nobility, riches, and power, are only honourable in proportion as they conduce to, and assist the operations of virtue: *Alia vero, quæ sunt infra virtutem, honorantur in quantum coadiuvant ad opera virtutis, sicut nobilitas, potentia, & divitiæ.* If the nobility then do not assist virtue, but rather foment vanity and nourish pride, by lending their suffrages to vices which obstruct virtue, they render

render themselves totally unworthy of the least respect.

S E C T. VI.

XXVII. But how shall we reconcile what we have just now said against the nobility, with what we said but a little before in their favour? Easily, by saying this prerogative is not laudable, but honourable. The arguments we have just urged impugn its laudability, those we are about to use are affirmative of its honour. This is a distinction pointed out by Aristotle, between virtue and all the other excellencies which illustrate the human race. Virtue, he says, is laudable; riches, nobility, and power, deserve no praise, but have a pretension to be honoured. So that there is nothing in nobility which a man should boast or be vain of; but there is something in it, which those who are inferior to them in rank should reverence and respect. This distinction will reconcile all difficulties, and assure to the nobility esteem, without fomenting their vanity.

S E C T. VII.

XXVIII. The subject of this discourse, especially that part of it which is contained in the second, third, and fourth paragraphs, leads me
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opportunist to banish an error which is exceedingly vulgarized. The world is so filled with the caprice of the occult influence of the blood, that many people are led away with a notion, that children by the force of it, not only inherit from thence those passions which depend on the temperament, but also a propensity for the religion of their ancestors. They don't even stop here, for the lower sort extend this influence to the milk with which children are nourished in their infancy, giving credit to this ridiculous maxim, with here and there an uncertain or fabulous experiment or instance, such for example, as a person when he came to the state of manhood having turned Jew, which he imbibed a disposition to do, by having sucked a Jew nurse.

XXIX. There is no error more void of all probability than this. If we speak of the true religion, not only the assent which the understanding gives to its dogmas, but also the pious affection which precedes this assent, are both supernatural; consequently, according to sound theology, neither the blood nor the aliment, nor any other natural cause, can have connexion, either with the assent or pious affection. This is all the work of the divine grace, as a substitute for which, there is not the most remote disposition to be found in the whole sphere of nature, and you
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can only admit negative natural ones, which concur merely to remove impediments, such as a good understanding and a good native turn of mind. But these good dispositions, in those who possess them, do not depend upon their fathers having professed the true religion; for if this was the case, all the catholics would have good understandings, and would be naturally good-disposed people.

XXX. The assent to false religions, is beyond a doubt absolutely natural, because error cannot be derived from a supernatural cause. Upon the whole then it is certain, that this assent does not depend in any manner whatever, either on the temperament or on the organization, which are the only things, on which the paternal seed or the infant aliment, can have any influence; the reason is, because giving assent to an error, depends upon the shape or light in which objects appear or are represented to the understanding, which in different temperaments and organizations may be the same, and in such as are alike different. What doubt can there be, that in the great city of Constantinople, there are vast numbers of men unlike in these and other natural dispositions? Notwithstanding which, they have all faith in the same errors.

XXXI.

XXXI. He who will not yield to these arguments, let the experience or example of the Janisaries convince. This military corps, who are the Grand Seignor's guards, and the best troops in the Ottoman empire, although they at present admit among them people of every nation, were originally all composed of the children of christians, who in their infancy were either made prisoners of war, or were paid to the Grand Seignor by way of tribute, by the poor christians who resided in his dominions. These soldiers, who notwithstanding their being the children of christians, and their having been nourished in their infancy with christian milk, were always as staunch professors of Mahometism as the children of the Turks themselves; and in the wars in which they were engaged against the christians, so far was the occult influence of the blood, or the milk they sucked, from restraining their arms, that they fought, I don't know whether to call it with more valour, or with more fury and rage, than the other Mahometans.

XXXII. The same reflection, may be made on the slaves which are brought from Africa to America to work in the mines, or on the sugar plantations; for they, when educated in the christian religion, don't entertain the most distant thoughts
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of returning to idolatry, which was the religion professed by their ancestors.

XXXIII. What now and then happens is, that some one, who in his infancy was instructed in a religion different from that of his parents, after being arrived at a state of manhood, coming to understand that they professed another faith, has found himself inclined to follow their steps. But it is clear, this was not produced by the seeds of his paternal religion which circulated within his veins, but was rather a proof, that his love and veneration for his progenitors, disposed him to imitate them, and I believe it proceeds from want of reflection, that these examples are not more frequent, for it is natural to suppose, that the example of those who gave him birth, would have more weight with a thinking man, than that of those who had deprived him of his liberty; but such is the force of education, habit, and intercourse, that they prevail over all other considerations and attentions.

S E C T. VIII.

XXXIV. It will also be proper in this place, to touch on a complaint very common among poor gentlemen: These frequently say, that now-a-days money is more esteemed than men of family,
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and that riches are more respected than nobility. This sentence is hardly out of their mouths, before it is followed by a deep sigh, that seems to express their sorrow for the corruption of the times, which has altered and mistaken the true value of things.

XXXV. But they are greatly deceived, who think the world ever was, or ever will be otherwise in this particular, for they always did, and always will, make more professions of esteem and respect to a rich man of humble origin, than to a poor one descended from an illustrious family. This is a consequence attendant on, and naturally produced by the condition of humanity. Men are seldom obsequious or attentive to others from mere motives of curtesy, and without an eye to their interests, but are generally solicitous to please those, who have it in their power either to favour or injure them. Nobility is not an active quality, but wealth is. A nobleman, merely as a person ennobled, can do neither good nor harm; but a rich man, holds in one hand the thunderbolt of Jupiter, and in the other the cornucopia of Amalthea. Simonides being asked which was most estimable, riches or learning, replied that he was puzzled to give an answer, because he frequently saw the learned running to pay their court to the rich and powerful, but that he never re-
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marked the same attention of the rich to the learned; so that if in those ancient times the learned paid homage to the rich, what must the vulgar have done? Hope and fear are the two main springs which give motion to the human heart, but disinterested love operates in very few individuals. There are at this day idolatrous nations, who worship both God and the Devil; God, that he should bestow benefits on them, and the Devil, because he should not injure them. He then who can neither do good nor harm, must expect no adoration or attention paid to him. The only and most effectual instrument wherewith to do service or injury, is money; thus those who are masters of that, will also be masters of, and command the common respect and homage. Gold is the idol of the rich, and the rich are the idols of the poor; it always was so, and ever will be so.

XXXVI. Let the neglected nobles however, comfort themselves with the reflection, that the adoration and court which is paid to the rich and powerful, is not sincere. The incense which is offered to them, does not arise from the fire of love, but the blaze of concupiscence; and the breast is always giving the lie to whatever is pronounced by the lips. The body bends with submissive congées, but the will does not incline or stoop to the idol. Obsequies, or the outward

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shew of respect, is all the invention of art, not the work of nature. What price or value can you set upon adulations, that are articulated by a tongue, which is the vile slave of interest? I don't deny but there are some men of opulence and power, who have merited their fortune; and that these, on account of the intrinsic worth of their good qualities, may be sincerely and consistently honoured and respected by good men; but such as these are the fewest in number, and the misfortune is, that there is no rich man whatever, who has not been persuaded by the voice of flattery, that he is one of those few.

XXXVII. It may be also necessary to apprize the complaining gentlemen, that the rich, merely as rich people, are in some degree intitled to the respect that is shewn them. The blessing of the Lord, says Solomon in the Proverbs, makes men rich, so that riches is a gift from heaven, and such a gift, as according to the common estimation and opinion of the world, constitutes those who possess it worthy to be honoured and respected. St. Thomas affirms this to be the case in the following sentence: *Secundum vulgarem opinionem excellentia divitiarum facit hominem dignum honore.* (22. quæst. 45. art. 1.) The common estimation in this particular, founds a right: and although that judgment should be erroneous, it would be prudent

prudent for us to wait till the world is undeceived, before we exempt ourselves from conforming to the usages of it. But this happy time will hardly ever arrive, till God with his powerful hand, shall bend and incline the hearts of men to esteem virtue, and that only; though if this happy day should arrive, the nobility may probably find a falling-off in the estimation they are at present held in; for every one then, would be respected according to his own deeds, and not according to those of his ancestors. This mode of rating things, would be exceedingly beneficial to the state; for how well would it be served, and what good citizens would it consist of, if there was no other road but that of virtue, whereby to arrive at the public esteem! but as the case stands at present, the merit, or even the fortune of an individual, makes all his descendants glorious and honourable, and when those who succeed in that line, find that by virtue of their birth the public veneration is attached to their family, great numbers of them will consider themselves as excused from negotiating it by some honourable application.

XXXVIII. From hence I infer, that what is speciously urged in favour of the nobility, to wit, that it is just and right to reward in the descendants the virtue of their ancestors, although it

may sound well in theory, will have but a bad effect in practice. If only personal virtue was to be rewarded, in the course of twenty descendants, there might probably be ten or a dozen of them, who would labour to acquire glory. But if the first of the twenty gains it for all the rest, he only would be useful to the state. He would serve the public, and the public would become the servants of all the rest.

S E C T. IX.

XXXIX. What we have just said, was not intended as an objection against giving the preference to the nobility in appointments to places of dignity and honour, but was only meant, as an argument against their being conferred on them, as a reward for the merits of their ancestors. I do not oppose the thing, but the motive for doing it; for I am rather of opinion, the public utility, the advancement of which, and not rewarding the services of others, should be the leading consideration to direct in making those appointments, would be better answered, by preferring the nobleman to the person of inferior rank, not only in cases of equality of virtue between the parties, but also where their difference in birth is great, and the disproportion in point of virtue but small; and this, for four weighty and important reasons.

XL.

XL. The first is, you would avoid by this means, multiplying the number of privileged persons within a state. If it was frequent and common, to fill posts of consequence with people of humble birth, because they were virtuous and able; as from the elevation of these, would result that of their posterity; in the course of a century and a half, you would create a great multitude of fresh nobility, which is extremely prejudicial to a community; because in proportion as you lessen the number of those, who should apply themselves to business, and the improvement and cultivation of land; you would lessen the assistance of useful people; or what is worse, you would over-load with the burden of the others, such as were dedicated to these employments.

XLI. The second is, because in posts of dignity, a nobleman is obeyed with more resignation, readiness, and good will, than a person of humble extraction; which is a matter of great importance in every kind of government. What disturbances have been occasioned, by the repugnance men find in obeying the commands of him, who they saw yesterday wear a plain coarse coat, and they see to day cloath'd with purple; their obedience is sometimes slow, at others ill exerted, and at others not performed at all. The love, or at least the interior condescension with which those who serve,

obey him who commands, is extremely useful and necessary in every kind of business. Many fine projects have vanished in smoke, because the instruments appointed to apply the means of executing them, have, stimulated by an occult envy of their superior, wished they should not succeed.

The want of sufferance and condescension in the inferiors, is succeeded by abhorrence and hatred in him who commands, with respect to them; and when he and they, reciprocally come to regard each other as enemies, there is no sort of confusion and danger, that may not be considered as near at hand.

XLII. The third is, because it is much more to be apprehended, that the virtue of an humble person is feigned, than that of a nobleman. The vice of hypocrisy may be said to be allied, or in a manner annexed to, narrow fortune; for poor people are under a necessity of concealing their defects; and are obliged, in order to better their lot, to have recourse to the trivial expedient, of putting on the semblance of virtue. On the contrary, opulence and illustrious birth, naturally give relief and enlargement to the mind. People that are ennobled, are generally what they appear to be, because neither necessity nor fear, obliges them to make ostentation of virtues they do not possess.

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XLIII. The fourth and last is, that admitting there should not be the least doubt of the truth and reality of an humble man's virtue, there is always great danger of his losing it by his exaltation. Great leaps of fortune are exceedingly perilous. Those from lofty stations downwards are very hazardous, because in consequence of them, the honour and properties of men may be dashed to pieces; but those from below upwards are more to be dreaded, for they are commonly attended with the destruction and loss of the soul. Every virtuous man, before he is raised from the dust to dignities, should find sureties for his continuing to act uprightly; for the soul by such a transition, is translated to a very different climate; and a very unwholesome one for customs and manners. Many have the seeds of various vices so deeply buried in their temperaments, as even to be concealed from their own eyes, till opportunities and occasions, cause them to grow and sprout out. It is rare to find a man of low extraction, who is cruel and proud; and very rare to meet with one who is covetous; for he is so far from being excited by vices which he has no materials to supply the cravings of, that he scarce ever thinks of them; and how should he fix his attention on the superfluous, who is in want of what is precisely necessary for him? to find out whether such a person

is tainted with the two first vices, you should place him in authority, and to discover whether he is infected with the third, you should give him a portion of riches. In fact, these three vices have been most frequently remarked in those, who were raised from humble to exalted fortune, although before their elevation, they did not shew the least signs of being tainted with them, or any others.

XLIV. For these reasons, I am of opinion, that a person of humble extraction, should never be preferred to a nobleman or man of family, to fill posts of dignity and honour, except, where the excess of virtue in the first shall be found to be very great. But in the military line, we should make an exception to this rule, for valour, and skill in the art of war, are requisites of great importance in executing and conducting military business; nor can they be lost by a man's advancement, or counterfeited by hypocrisy. On the other hand, these endowments, for the purpose of exciting respect and obedience in those who are to be commanded, sufficiently supply the want of splendid origin in him who commands; and finally, a great warrior makes double amends to a state for the injury that is sustained by it, by planting therein a new stock of nobility. So that by adverting to these precautions, the four inconveniences we have pointed out would be avoided.

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THE
MACHIAVELIANISM
OF THE
ANCIENTS.
S E C T. I.

I. **A**S we are about to treat in this discourse of the tyrannic doctrine of Machiavel; I believe it will be agreeable to the greatest part of our readers, to have some particular information concerning this man, of whom all the world talks, and whom all the world detests; for by whatever means men make themselves famous, they excite a curiosity to know who and what they were.

II. Nicholas Machiavel, who was a native of Florence, lived in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and was a man of more than middling ingenuity. He wrote the Tuscan language with
beauty

beauty and propriety, although his knowledge of the Latin was but moderate. He had a good genius for writing comic poetry, which he manifested in various pieces which he wrote for the theatre; and more particularly in one of them, that was represented at Florence with such great applause, that it excited Pope Leo the tenth, as Paulus Jovius informs us, to cause it to be acted at Rome by the same players, and with the same dresses and decorations, with which it had been exhibited at Florence. When the unhappy conspiracy against the family of the Medici, was set on foot by the Soderinis, Machiavel, who was impeached as an accomplice in it, was put to the question by torture; but either his fortitude, or his innocence, caused him to resist the rigour of that trial without making the least confession. I do not know whether it was before, or after this event, that he was made secretary to the republic, but it is certain, that for the title of historian to it, which was conferred on him together with a good salary, he was totally indebted to the favour of the Medici; but whether they did this from a conviction of his innocence with respect to the late conspiracy, and were disposed to recompence him by this honourable emolument, for the injury he suffered in the torture; or whether they did it from considering him as an able man whom they had a mind to keep under obligations to them,

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in order to avail themselves of so good a pen in their favour as that of Machiavel's; I say, which ever of these motives they were actuated by, is not quite certain.

III. The conferring this benefit on him, did not prevent new suspicions being entertained of his fidelity, and having concurred in another plot concerted by some private individuals, to take away the life of cardinal Julius de Medicis, who afterwards ascended to the popedom, by the name of Clement the seventh. This suspicion was founded entirely, on the repeated applauses, with which both in his writings and private conversations, he had celebrated Brutus and Cassius, as the defenders and vindicators of the liberty of the Roman republic; which at that time, was interpreted as an indirect exhortation to the Florentines to defend their liberty, that the Medicis either in reality or appearance, meditated to suppress. But with all this, either from mere motives of policy, or because the suspicions seemed lightly founded, no proceedings were had against Machiavel. It is confirmed however, that after this time, he passed the remainder of his days in misery and poverty. Perhaps the Medicis, who were secretly displeased with him, thought it more adviseable, instead of bringing him to open punishment, to accomplish their dark revenge, by

occult ways and means. It might also happen, that he brought himself to poverty by his own misconduct; but, be this as it will, he hastened his death as many other people have hastened theirs before him, by taking a precautionary medicine to prolong his life, which instead of lengthening, shortened it, and brought him to an untimely end in the year 1530.

IV. Machiavel was of a jocose and satirical disposition, and was believed to have little or no religion. There are some who say, that when he was near dying, they were under a necessity of employing the authority of the civil magistrate to oblige him to receive the sacraments. We read in many authors, a wanton and insolent impiety of his, under the colour of a joke; that is, his having said, that he had much rather go to hell than heaven; because in heaven he should only meet with friars, mendicants, and other miserable and groveling people; but that in hell, he should enjoy the company of popes, cardinals, and princes, with whom he could converse of state affairs. Others substitute, for his saying popes, cardinals, and princes, the most eminent philosophers and political writers, such as Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and Tacitus.

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V. He published a variety of books, and among them, the life of Castrucius Castracani, and the history of Florence, which do not obtain the greatest credit with the critics. But the work that made him jointly the most famous and infamous man in the world, was a political tract, entitled, "The Prince;" in which he teaches and recommends to all sovereigns, to reign tyrannically, and to govern their people, without regarding either equity, law, or religion, but sacrificing them all three, together with the public good, to his interest, his will, his caprice, and his own particular grandeur.

S E C T. II.

VI. But notwithstanding the principles of this book are so pernicious, there have not been wanting those, who have patronized both the book and the author. Abraham Nicholas Amelot de Houffaye, defends it in the most odious point of view, which is approving his maxims as beneficial to the public, and asserting, that they are only reprobated by ignorant men, who know nothing of politics or reasons of state; and adds, that the same people who now live as private men, and are unacquainted with the management of public business, and at present condemn them, were they by any great and unexpected change of fortune,

fortune, to arrive at being princes or prime ministers, would approve, and practise them.

VII. There are others, who, although they acknowledge the maxims of Machiavel are pernicious, sanctify the intention of the author. They say, that so far from intending to instruct princes against their people, he only meant to caution the people against the proceedings and arts of tyrants, to the end that princes, seeing the tendency of their schemes liable to be exposed, should be more circumspect in their behaviour, and that the people, by being aware of the arms with which the attacks were made upon liberty, might be the better able to parry the blows. They add further, that Machiavel was under a necessity of using this artful method of warning the people, and of couching his cautions to them, under the veil and figure of teaching princes how to make themselves absolute, because these last, would not have permitted his book to be licenced, if he had openly declared himself inimical to their total independency.

VIII. They endeavour to prove the probability of this sentiment, by urging, that Machiavel was an utter enemy to tyranny, and a strenuous advocate for the liberty of the republic; and that the whole tenor of his words and actions, conspire

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to manifest these were his inclinations. His two great and favourite heroes, were Brutus and Cæsius, who killed Cæsar to restore Rome to her liberty. He also quotes the tenth chapter of the first book of his discourses, where he speaks strongly against tyrants; and urges further, that he was accused of being an accomplice with the Soderinis in their conspiracy against the family of the Medicis, who were thought at that time, to have an intention of tyrannizing over the republic of Florence; and that he was afterwards, not exempt from being suspected, of having a finger in the conspiracy against the life of cardinal Julius de Medicis. Nardi, a Florentine author who was a cotemporary with him, says, that he was closely connected with the contrivers of that plot and design, and also with the rest of the faction, who were in opposition to the Medicis. He then proceeds to say, what view or intention could a man have in favouring and abetting tyrants, who had given so many proofs of his abhorrence of them? or how could you suspect him of designing to extend the power of princes above their natural sphere, who had always manifested himself an admirer of democracy? he next says, it must follow then of course, that his intention must be different, and very contrary to what the ordinary and superficial sense of his words seem to import. This is the way those reason, who support this opinion.

IX. Finally, there are others, who admit that the maxims of Machiavel are detestable, but waiving the question about what was his intention, they limit their excuse of the author, to affirming, there has not, nor can there arise, any general inconvenience from the publication of them. These say, that Machiavel has broached nothing new; and that his maxims are the same with those you will find inserted in various histories, and which were practiced by an infinite number of princes; and what more pernicious effect can they have on him who reads them in Machiavel's book, than on him who reads them in any other.

X. This is the very excuse which Bocalini puts in the mouth of Machiavel, when he supposes him to be speaking in his own defence before Apollo. He says, I do not pretend to defend my works, but rather to arraign, and condemn them as impious, and full of cruel and execrable documents for the government of states; but provided the doctrine I have written shall appear to be new, or the invention of my brain, I am ready at this moment, to submit to the execution of any sentence, the judges shall think proper to fulminate against me. On the other hand, if my writings contain nothing more than those political precepts, and those rules of state, which I
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have deduced from the actions and conduct of some princes, the speaking ill of whom would formerly have been punished with death, and if you will be pleased to permit me I can now name; I say if this be the case, what justice, what reason can there be, for respecting those as little less than divinities, who have been the authors and inventors, of all the furious and desperate maxims of policy which appear in my writings; and of treating me, who have done nothing more than republish them, as an abandoned vagabond, and an Atheist? I certainly cannot conceive, why the original should be adored as a saint, and the copy execrated, nor why I deserve to be so persecuted, when the reading of histories, not only tolerated, but recommended, are sufficient to convert to Machiavels, all those who peruse them with a political view.

S E C T. III.

XI. But not to leave the reader in suspense, or not to give him occasion to think that I propose these three opinions as problems, I will here declare the judgement I entertain of them. The first is false, shocking, abominable, and only worthy of a second Machiavel. What reason, I won't say, can dictate, but even endure the detestable maxims, that a prince owes more to him-

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self than to the republic? that this last was instituted by nature for the convenience of the prince, and not the prince for the good of the republic? that the right to govern with tyrannic sway is an appendage appertaining to the prerogative of the crown? that the untimely and disgraceful deaths of tyrants, ought to be attributed to chance, and not to the divine vengeance or judgements? with others of the same sort.

XII. The second apology, is contradicted by the literal and natural sense of the author's writings; for if he intended to convey a meaning which was different from these, it is not easy to ascertain what that meaning was. I will admit as good and conclusive, all the arguments that are used to prove Machiavel was an enemy to tyranny. There is no man whatever who does not abhor tyranny, while he contemplates it as a restraint on his own person, or while he is apprehensive part of the weight of it may be loaded on his own shoulders. But many of those who abhor it in general, are friends to it in particular, and especially, if they entertain hopes that the favour of the tyrant will better their fortunes. It is very natural to suppose, this was the state and situation of Machiavel's mind when he wrote his book. The Medicis at that time ruled the city of Florence; and he imagined that he should sooth and flatter them, by approving

ing and recommending a government, that dispensed with all law, as the means the best calculated to pave the way for the introduction and establishment of despotic power. Perhaps also, he might entertain hopes, that some prince who read his book, might be induced to make him his prime minister, from an expectation, that by having the author of these maxims at his elbow, he might be able to raise his power to the highest pitch of uncontroul and grandeur.

XIII. The excuse, with which it is attempted to defend Machiavel by the third supposition, is manifestly sophistical. It cannot be denied, that we read in a variety of authors, of numbers of princes who have put in practice the doctrine of Machiavel; but there is this great difference between those authors and Machiavel, that they condemn the doctrine, and he persuades it. They, at the same time that they inform you of the fact, inspire you with horror of the maxim; he, when he teaches the maxim, exhorts to the execution of it. How great must his zeal have been to recommend and persuade tyranny, when he had the presumption to propose Moses and David, as examples of tyrannic government? but to this execrable degree of impiety, did Machiavel carry his daring blasphemy.

XIV. With regard to the peculiar defence which Bocalini makes for Machiavel, it is easy to see, at whom his malignant expressions point; which he might very well have omitted, because without alluding to any one in so elevated a form of life, he had very near at hand in the person of Cæsar Borja *, a man furnished with all the requisites for his purpose, and whom he did not run much hazard of announcing. I mean, that in order to excuse Machiavel from being the inventor of the maxims he published, and to point out some person in whose conduct he had studied and learned them, he could have fixed on no one more proper than that prince, because Cæsar Borja, was without doubt, a man of most iniquitous and tyrannic politics, and capable of committing all sorts of wickedness, provided his doing it would contribute to advance his grandeur; for he was fiery, daring, and cruel, and was besides so furiously ambitious, that were it in his power, he was capable of burning the whole world, for the sake afterwards, of domineering absolutely over the ashes of it.

XV. Hermanus Coringius, a protestant author, says, that Machiavel was some time in the service of this prince. If this be true, it is easy to guess from whom he learned what he afterwards

* The son of Pope Alexander the sixth.

committed to writing; and I believe the Italians would not disdain to acknowledge, that their Florentine politician had been instructed by a Spanish master.

XVI. But the truth is, that Machiavel had no occasion to seek for an example, either in him, or in any other of the princes of his own time; for as he was a man pretty well read in history, every age had furnished him with examples in plenty. They mistake little less, who suppose Machiavel learned his maxims from the politicians of his day; than those do, who believe the politics, posterior to Machiavel, were taken from his doctrines.

XVII. But notwithstanding all that can be urged in opposition to it, this second opinion, is much entertained and received by people of little reading and short reflection, in which group, we may suppose to be comprehended the bulk of mankind. Not a few, when they converse upon this subject, add with a mysterious gravity, and as if they were extracting a profound apophthegm from the inmost recesses of their understandings, that, although Machiavel was the master who introduced this doctrine, it has since his time been so much improved upon in courts, that if the master could now come back into the world, he would find it necessary to go to school again.

XVIII. I cannot refrain from laughter, when I hear men discourse in this manner, who, from their education, ought to know and reason better. The maxims of tyrannic policy are as antient in the world, as government or dominion. Machiavelianism owes its first existence to the most antient princes of the earth, and only to Machiavel its name. It is rooted in our nature, and it does not require ages, as moments, when fit occasions present themselves, are equal to bringing forth its malignant productions. Nor is the passion of domineering more natural to man, than that of amplifying and extending his dominion. An ambitious man, by attaining to be a prince, does not find his ambition satisfied; but is always desirous of extending his power, exteriorly with respect to the subjects of other states, and interiorly with regard to his own. The love of independence, can seldom be contained within reasonable bounds, He who is free from all subjection to other men, aspires at being independent of the laws also.

S E C T. IV.

XIX. I am so far from thinking that Machiavel has made the world worse in this respect, or from supposing that the princes of these times, have refined upon the iniquitous politics of Machiavel, that I firmly believe, if we limit our enquiries
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precisely to Europe, we shall find the sovereigns of it in general, much better than those of the remote ages.

XX. Now-a days, if it is in contemplation to impose some new burthen on the subject, or to wage war with a neighbouring state, divines and lawyers, are consulted upon the justice and propriety of the measure; an enquiry is made, how the laws stand with respect to the subject matter in question, and the archives and records are examined and turned over; and although it often happens, that from the ambitious adulation of the people consulted, a right is attributed to their prince, which in reality does not belong to him, their malice does not impeach his good faith. In former times, this was not the case. If a prince was disposed to trample on the rights of his subjects, or to subdue his neighbours, he consulted nobody, nor made any other enquiry or examination, than whether he had force and power sufficient to accomplish what he meditated; and the question was always decided, by his ability or inability to execute what he designed. In times not very distant from our own, and even in the most polished kingdoms, where the true religion has humanized people's minds, when the person invaded by a powerful prince his neighbour, has represented to him, that his pretensions

to what he possesses are just and legal ; the invader has laughed at the representation, and answered savagely, in the language, that was then become proverbial in the mouths of kings and ministers of state, that the rights of princes were not to be determined by old rolls of parchments, but by burnished arms.

S E C T. V.

XXI. The further our memories carry us back through the series of past times, we find this evil the greater ; and from hence proceeds that ill opinion, which in early ages was generally entertained of kings. The Romans were struck with amazement, to find the Capadocians, upon their offering to make their country a free republic, instantly request, that they would permit them to remain under kingly government ; which amazement, was occasioned by their considering in a rigorous or strict sense, that mode of rule, as a mark or type of slavery. Cato said, this animal which is called a king, is a great devourer of human flesh. *Hoc animal rex carnivorum est* ; and Flavius Vopiscus, tells us of a Roman buffoon, who pleasantly and keenly remarked, that the effigies of all the good kings that had ever been known in the world, might be carved on a ring. Plato in his *Georgiac* dialogue,

logue, represents kings as appearing before Rhadamanthus in hell, loaded for the most part with injustices, perjuries, and other wickedness. Aristotle, in his third book on politics, recognizes as tyrannical, the exercise of the regal power, by all, or nearly all, the Asiatic princes; and Livy says, that the most sagacious and penetrating Hannibal, never confided in the promises of kings: *fidei regum nihil sanè confisus*; a legate of the Rhodians also, according to the said Livy, observed, that kings were always desirous of making slaves of their subjects. Thus we have the greatest reason to conclude, that it was a common practice with the princes of those times, to pay no regard to any law, whenever an opportunity offered of augmenting their authority.

S E C T. VI.

XXII. But we should not conclude that this was all done by main force, without the intervention of art or stratagem. The same contrivances, the same artifices, which we read of in Machiavel, and which have been practiced by the most crafty tyrants of these latter ages, were exerted in the early ones. Cast your eyes on Romulus, seeking for a specious pretence of justice for taking away the life of his brother, in order to remove this obstacle to his reigning without the danger of a rival,

rival, and in security: view his successor, Numa Pompilius also, who was a most consummate hypocrite, affecting exteriorly to appear religious and devout, and to pay a great respect to rites and ceremonies. He pretended to receive visions and revelations from the goddess Egeria, in order that the Roman people, looking upon him as a man favoured in an especial manner by heaven, should not only not dare to entertain thoughts of dethroning him, but permit him to aggrandize himself at his discretion: we have another example of the same sort of policy, in Tullius Hostilius who succeeded Numa, and introduced with great art, those ostentatious outside appearances, which dazzle the eyes of the world, and are the most efficacious means to make majesty formidable and respectable; for he likewise sought out deceitful pretences, for making war on the neighbouring states: we see Tarquin the Proud also, availing himself of the stratagem of his son Sextus, who, under the pretence of being a fugitive from his father's cruelty, fled to, and entreated refuge among the Gabians, on whom, after their receiving him kindly, he artfully prevailed to make him their generalissimo, vested with an absolute power; in consequence of which, he was enabled to sell and betray them. He did so, and they became an easy prey to the Romans.

XXIII. Is not that famous precept of Machiavel's, that with an enemy reduced to great straits or difficulties, you should take no middle course, but that according as you find it most for your interest, should either ruin him totally, or give him your hand to extricate him out of his danger; punctually conformable to the advice which Herennius gave to his son Poncius, who was general of the Samnites? When this general had shut up the Roman army within the Caudine Forks, he sent information of it to his father, and at the same time desired to have his advice, respecting how he should act by them. The old man answered, that he should generously open the pass, and let them go free, without any condition or limitation whatever, that might be injurious to, or affect either their lives, their liberty, or their honour. Poncius, and all the principal people of the republic who were with the army, believed, that Herennius had not well understood or considered the information that had been sent him, nor apprehended, that the whole Roman army were entirely at their mercy. They therefore sent other messengers or deputies, with instructions to inform him minutely, of the unhappy situation and state of the Roman army, whose lives, without remedy, were at their discretion and disposal. To this he answered,

answered, that they should cut all their throats, and not spare a single man of them. Two answers so diametrically opposite, made some of them suspect, that the old man was not in his right senses; but notwithstanding this suspicion, as they had for many years respected him as the oracle and soul of the republic, the major part of them began to conjecture, and not without reason, that there was some mystery contained in these contradictory replies, which they did not comprehend, or were not aware of; and they therefore desired, that he would come to the camp and explain himself. He came accordingly, and told them his sentiments; which were, that they should adopt one or other of the extremes, and either gain their affections by an heroic act of generosity, or extirpate them totally, to prevent their ever being able to revenge themselves for whatever indignity they should impose on them. Poncius did not follow the advice of the old man, but took a middle way, which was, to spare their lives, but dismiss them with the loss of their honour, by obliging consuls, officers, and soldiers, to submit to the signal disgrace of passing under the yoke. The result of this was, what might easily have been foreseen and expected, the Romans, stung with the ignominy they had undergone, could not divert their thoughts from meditating revenge, which they after a while determined

mined to take; and breaking through the stipulated conditions, they renewed the war with a stronger army, and totally routed and over-threw the Samnites.

XXIV. We must allow, that the determination Poncius took was imprudent; but it does not follow from thence, that we should approve the advice of Herennius; for although the first was insecure, the other was cruel in extreme. He might have fallen upon other expedients, better suited and proportioned to the nature of the case, such as taking hostages, and before permitting the army to depart, obliging them to deliver into their possession, certain towns and districts, as pledges for the faithful performance of their engagements; but the supposing that the faith of stipulations or compacts, would have more influence upon a vain, proud, warlike people, than the indignation conceived for a gross affront offered to their honour, was very idle, and very silly confidence.

XXV. Neither, as I have already said, do I think there was any security in the extreme benign advice of Herennius; for with the Romans, ambition was more powerful than public faith, or the obligations of gratitude. A good testimony to this truth, was their behaviour to the Numantians,

tians, which was a true sample of the politics of those times.

S E C T. VII.

XXVI. I say of those times, to avoid censuring the Romans singly; for in Greece also, the not performing a promise given, or even sworn to, when the observance of it clashed with the interest of the state, was so common, that a sovereign for having done it, was hardly looked upon to have impeached his character as a just prince, or an honest man.

XXVII. Ageflaus, king of Sparta, was one of the most celebrated princes of antiquity; and although he was an eminent warrior, placed his principal glory in being thought a lover of virtue and justice. To one who called the sovereign of Persia the great monarch, he answered sharply, *he who is not better than me, is not a greater king than myself.* He was exceedingly sober, patient of labour, and such a respecter of the Gods, that he would not permit even his enemies, who had taken refuge in the temples, to be forced from their sanctuary; and was besides, so averse to dress and finery, that there was scarce a soldier in his army, more humbly or simply cloathed than himself. But this saint of Paganism, made not the least

least scruple of violating the public faith, when by the violation, he expected to derive some advantage to the state. By means of one of his emissaries, he, in profound peace, surprized and seized on the city of Thebes; and although in Sparta, the justice of the action was somewhat disputed, as soon as it was shewn, that the keeping the place was of importance to the kingdom, they immediately consented to send a garrison to maintain the citadel. In his expedition to Egypt, he abandoned king Taco, in whose pay and service he and his Lacedemonian troops were engaged, and joined the rebel Nectanebus, without making any other excuse for this treachery, than that he found it for the interest of his country.

XXVIII. Aristides, the Cato of the Athenians, who by way of eminence they called the Just, having caused his country to swear to a certain thing, and having in the name of it sworn to it himself likewise, persuaded them afterwards to violate the oath, because the observance of it would be productive of some inconvenience to them. Plutarch, who cites Theophrastus as his author, adds, that to serve his country, he did many iniquitous things. Such were the just men of Greece, and such was their policy.

S E C T. VIII.

XXIX. I well know, that in the opinion of many people, this political money is current in our times, and that it is frequently said, the words and promises of those who have the supreme management of affairs, should not remain in force for any longer time than they are found not to clash with the interests of the state. I have read of an Italian prince, who, when he was negotiating a peace with a powerful monarch, requested among other conditions, the restitution of a large part of his territories, which had been taken from him during the war, to which request, the ambassador of the monarch answered, *what reliance can the king my master place on the fidelity of your highness, in case he gives you all you ask?* to which the king replied—Assure him, that I will pledge my word to him to fulfil my engagements, not in quality of a sovereign, for in that capacity, whenever favourable opportunities offer, it behoves me to sacrifice every thing to my grandeur, and the interests of my state; but as a gentleman, and a man of honour.

XXX. But after all, this assurance contains in it a large portion of hyperbole; for I firmly believe, the majority of the princes of this day, are
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scrupulous about breaking the treaties they have entered into; although it be true, that at every turn, you will hear them reciprocally accusing each other of being the infringers of them. But it seldom happens, that either of the parties can so clearly make out the justice of his cause, as not to leave room for a difference of opinion on the subject. Thus they both go upon probabilities, and also upon the strength of probabilities, accuse each other. If either of them happens to be a person of so enlarged a conscience, as knowingly, and without scruple, to trample on all the obligations of equity, justice, and public faith, he endeavours notwithstanding to save appearances, and to seek some specious pretence for his behaviour. This shews, that he is ashamed of what he does, and would gladly hide the odium of his actions for fear of being pointed at, which would not happen, if breaking their words was so common among princes, and so little scrupled by them, as some would persuade us.

XXXI. I know very well, that an anonymous French author, asserted a few years ago, that Don Ferdinand the Catholic, being told that Louis the twelfth of France complained he had twice deceived him, replied, *By the Lord! the French man lies, for it was not twice, but ten times that I*

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deceived

deceived him. If such a thing ever happened, we may suppose, that our Don Ferdinand prided himself in perfidy. But these are mere gossips tales, and such as prudent people pay no regard to. I suppose, that before this joke or tale, could arrive at the ears of the French man who wrote it, from the mouth of Don Ferdinand, it must necessarily pass through the mouths of a hundred different people ; and we may conclude, that out of that hundred, at least ninety of them were more capable of framing it, than Don Ferdinand was of uttering it.

XXXII. But admitting this was true, all that can be inferred from it is, that among a great number of princes of our times, here and there one of them, has without shame or blushing, practised lying and deceit in the affairs of state ; whereas among the antients, this was very frequent and common ; for all, or nearly all of them, seem to have had stamped on their hearts, that sentence of Chorebus : *Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?* or some other like it.

S E C T. IX.

XXXIII. But our surprize will cease at their acting in this manner, when we reflect, that that great philosopher and oracle of antiquity, the divine

vine Plato, by his doctrine, taught, that it was lawful for those who had the management of public affairs, to lye, whenever it could be of use to the interests of the state. *Igitur rempublicam administrantibus præcipue, si quibus aliis, mentiri licet, vel hostium, vel civium, causa ad communem civitatis utilitatem. Reliquis autem à mendacio abstinendum est* (lib. III. de Repub.). If the princes of antiquity had so able a master, and one of so great authority, what loss could they be at for want of a Machiavel?

XXXIV. It is true, that Plato only allowed lying to be lawful, in cases where it might be conducive to advance the public good; Machiavel advises it, whenever it can be useful to serve the particular interests of a tyrant. Thus Plato was a bad moralist, and Machiavel a bad man. But this difference in the character of the masters, does not prevent tyrants from making the same use of the doctrine of Plato, for the purpose of serving their particular conveniencies, that disinterested princes may do for the good of the public, because a tyrant, always endeavours to make the people believe, that every thing he does to advance his own grandeur, is transacted with a view of promoting their interest; and if at any time he is detected in a lye, he will pretend that he lyed for the public good, and quote the doctrine of

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Plato

Plato to justify his conduct; but in case this doctrine of Plato's should appear too limited or confined for tyrants, as in truth it is, they may be supplied with a much more copious and enlarged system, in the writings of Plato's disciple Aristotle.

XXXV. I don't mean to say, that Aristotle was an abettor of perverse policy, or that he wrote with a design of instructing tyrants in the methods by which they might make themselves absolute, and support themselves by tyrannic rule, but only mean to declare, that in the fifth book of his Politics, cap. 11. he did it without intending it, or without being aware that he was doing it. In this chapter, which is a pretty long one, not only those two famous maxims, *oderint dum metuant*, *Divide ut imperes*, are exactly pointed out and applied; but all, or very near all the others, which are published by the Florentine author, in his book intitled *Il Principe*, are to be found in this chapter of Aristotle's. I have never seen Machiavel's book, but only the capital maxims of it, as they are cited by other authors; but hear Hermanus Conringius, who has read both that and Aristotle. He says, Nicholas Machiavel, that trumpeter of political arts, cannot, nor does not, teach his prince any arcana or secrets, for promoting or maintaining tyrannic dominion, which many hundred years before, had not been taught by Aristotle in his fifth book of Politics;

Politics ; and it is not improbable, but that cunning teacher and promoter of wickedness, transcribed from Aristotle, although he concealed the plagiary, all that he published in his own book ; but there is a remarkable difference in the application the two masters make of their doctrine, which is, that Machiavel advises all princes without distinction, to pursue and practise what he teaches ; whereas Aristotle declared more justly and frankly, his to be fit and necessary for tyrants only. (Conring. Introduct. ad Politic. Aristotelis, cap. III.)

XXXVI. But let the truth prevail. I say the same of both Aristotle and Machiavel, which is, that neither of them were the inventors of systems of perverse policy ; for that they copied them, from the actions of the kings of Persia and Egypt ; from the Archelaus's and Philips's of Macedon ; from the Phalaris's, the Agathocles's, the Hirones's, and Dionisius's of Sicily ; from the Periandros's, from the Pisistratos's, and other political pests of Greece.

S E C T. X.

XXXVII. Nor can I perceive such profundity or acuteness, in these so much applauded maxims, either of Aristotle, or Machiavel, as may render it worth the while of a politician of special perspi-

cuity, to bestow much time in reading or studying them; as a moderate understanding, without their help, will enable a man to acquire all they teach; nor is there any thing necessary to carry them into execution, but a hardened and a perverted heart.

XXXVII. The maxim, that a tyrant must be supported by making himself feared, and not trust to the love of his subjects, is as clear as day-light; for how can those, whom he is continually oppressing with a hard slavery, have any love for him? And it follows of course, that he must treat them as he would enemies, and endeavour to keep them poor, as every one knows, that the more you impoverish your enemy, the more you deprive him of the means of injuring you.

XXXIX. It is also an immediate consequence deducible from the same principle, that it will be proper for him to put more confidence in strangers, than his own subjects; for who but a stupid person, would confide in one, who he knows is filled with indignation against him? The necessity of keeping a number of emissaries in such a situation, to inform him of the words and actions of those who he suspects are not his friends, would occur to every rustic, and is what is daily practised by rustics in their way; for if one of these suspects

any man to be his enemy, he is continually observing his conduct, watching his motions, and as far as he is able, prying into his designs. The advantages of religious and virtuous appearances, to command respect, are manifest to every young girl; and the art of fomenting discords, and encouraging opposite factions in a state, in order to preserve the balance of power equal between them, may be learned from the tumblers and rope-dancers, who support themselves, by keeping the weights at the opposite ends of their poles in equilibrio.

XL. It was said of Catherine of Medicis, who with the nicest caution, and greatest vigilance, continued to put this contrivance in practice for a long time, that she studied Machiavel every day, and that she had always his book in her hand, or else laying by her, which occasioned a satirical writer to call it the New Testament of the queen; but perhaps this was said of her, on account of her being obliged to have recourse to the before-named arts. But in order to do this, what necessity was there for her having such a master at her elbow? The posture and situation of affairs, pointed out sufficiently to a person of the abilities and penetration of that queen, the utility of dispensing some favours to the heretics, and by conciliating their good-will, causing their weight to serve as a counterpoize to the power of the catholics,

tholics, of whom she was jealous and apprehensive, but always taking care at the same time to declare and profess, that in point of faith she was a catholic, to prevent the affections of that party from being weaned and estranged from her.

XLI. There have not been wanting those, who have attributed the same policy to Constantine the Great, who, at the same time that he was favouring christianity, kept Gentiles in his ministry, and filled posts of importance with them. But this we should suppose was an act of necessity, because it was incumbent on him to proceed with caution, in so great and arduous a work, as that of the conversion of the whole Roman empire. If he had endeavoured to beat down Paganism at a blow, and by open force and violence, he might possibly never have been able to accomplish it.

S E C T. XI.

XLII. I say the same, of all the other rules or [practices of tyrannic and deceitful policy. What ability or penetration does it require, to invade with an armed force, the territories of a neighbouring prince or republic, and surprize some of the fortified towns of those, who thinking themselves secure, and relying upon the faith of an established peace, are off their guard, and not prepared

prepared to resist the attack ? To accomplish this, requires nothing more, than for a man to become compleatly callous to the fear of God, and to have lost all sense of shame of the world. To find a plausible pretence for doing it, is the most easy thing imaginable, for a child of ten years old, is never at a loss for such a one, whenever he is disposed from motives of interest, or through fickleness, to break a little friendship or connexion he has engaged in.

XLIII. The barbarous maxim, of getting rid of brothers or relations, to remove the most dangerous apprehensions of, or incitements to, insurrections, does not require ingenuity to execute it, but cruelty only. We see the Ottoman emperors have practised it in a variety of ways ; some have taken away the lives of their brothers and relations, others have deprived them of sight, and others of liberty, by shutting them up in close confinement. They were all equally apprized of the importance of preventing the danger, but they were not all equally fierce and cruel. Thus in proportion to the degrees of their barbarity, or their fears, their rigour in the practice of the maxim, was greater or less. Mahomed the third, when he mounted the throne, not satisfied with putting to death his whole twenty-one brothers, ordered ten Sultanas likewise, who were then pregnant, to be thrown
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into the sea and drowned; whereas others, have contented themselves with confining those who were related to them in a prison, with reasonable accommodations appertaining to it. This great difference in their conduct, did not proceed from their distinct political ideas, but from the diversity of their tempers and dispositions.

XLIV. As we are now treating on this subject, this seems a proper occasion, for taking notice of a common error and opinion, which prevails among many people with respect to the Ottoman emperors, viz. that the bloody maxim of sacrificing their own brothers to their safety, and their possessing the throne in security, is peculiar to the Ottoman race. This barbarous and atrocious policy, is much more ancient than the stock of Ottoman princes, and was more generally practised by other royal families than by them. Plutarch, speaking of those kings who were the successors of Alexander, and among whom the vast conquests of that hero were divided, says, that cruel maxim was so universally adopted by their descendants, that they considered it as an invariable political axiom, and as a self-evident first principle, indispensably necessary to be adhered to, and which followed of course, with as much certainty as geometrical postulata. *Fratrium paricidia, ut petitiones geometræ sumunt, sic concedebantur,*

bantur, habitanturque, communis quædam petitio ad securitatem, & Regia. Plutarc. in Demetrio.

XLV. I don't know whether the soil and climate of Asia is not better adapted for the production of these political monsters, than that of Europe, for we have seen in all times, the princes of the Asiatic regions, more addicted to pursue tyrannic and cruel maxims, than those of Europe. By confining ones attention immediately to the present times, what appears to me is, that the Europeans, who for the most part have some knowledge of Machiavel, commonly found their governments upon principles of justice and moderation; and that the oriental people, who don't know that there ever was such a man as Machiavel in the world, most frequently, practise the very same perverse maxims, which this master of wickedness taught; and I think the Chinese are the only orientals who are an exception to this general rule.

S E C T. XII.

XLVI. I would not have it understood by what I have said, that I think the reading of Machiavel would not be pernicious; for it would without doubt be so to many, and especially if their dispositions incline them to the side of ambition. There have been, and ever will be, an infinite number of tyrants,

tyrants, who never heard of, or read Machiavel's book, intitled the Prince; but that book may probably have made tyrants of many, who never would have been such without perusing it; and it would have the same effect in the hands of a weak prince, that the mouth of an evil counsellor would have applied to his ear.

XLVII. One of the most atrocious and treacherous acts ever recorded in history, and one that has made the greatest noise in the world, was, the unworthy putting to death of the great Pompey, which was occasioned intirely, by young Ptolemy who was then king of Egypt, having at the time it was committed, a Machiavel by his side, in the person of the depraved Theodotus.

XLVIII. Pompey, after being routed in the battle of Pharfalia, and becoming a fugitive from Cæsar and his fortune, thought no asylum could be more convenient and safe for him, than the kingdom of Egypt; because the prince who then reigned there, was indebted to him, for the great favour of having reinstated his father on that throne, from whence he had been cast down by his own subjects. On the confidence of this service, he steered for Alexandria, and upon entering the port, sent to inform the king of his arrival, and beg that protection from him, which he had so just a right to demand,

demand. The king summoned a council to deliberate on the matter, in which the majority of votes, were for doing what was honourable and right, and gave it as their opinion, that the unfortunate hero should be entertained and protected. But Theodotus, who had got the ascendancy over the young king, and who had more influence with him than every body else, suggested to him, that he should not only not grant Pompey his protection, but that he should take away his life also.

XLIX. But let us hear from Lucan, the reasons of convenience, on which that depraved politician grounded his advice for perpetrating so horrid and atrocious an act of treachery, in order, that by comparing them with those of Machiavel, we may discern, whether the principles of the Florentine master were well understood in those times. But it is proper to observe, that Lucan makes the eunuch Photinus the author of the advice, instead of Theodotus; whereas other writers don't make Photinus the adviser, but assisted by the general Aquilas, the executor of the wickedness; and some others again, attribute to this last, a great part, if not the whole, of the suggestion.

L. But whether Theodotus, Aquilas, or Photinus, was the first who suggested the treacherous cruelty,

is not material to the main question. The arguments used with Ptolemy, to incite him to the deed, were as follow: That great as his father's obligations were to Pompey, he ought to consider, that he owed more to himself than he did to him; that fortune had declared itself in favour of Cæsar, and against Pompey, and that it would be the height of imprudence to take part with that side, to whom fortune was averse; that although it was true, the affording Pompey an asylum had the appearance of an honest action, still, princes ought not to attend to what was honest, but to what was useful; that the monarch, who is desirous of confining his operations within the limits of justice, is more a slave of the laws, than a master of his dominions; that the supreme power is paramount to all law, nor can it acknowledge any subjection; that it was beyond a doubt, the affording Pompey protection in his kingdom, would soon bring on him, the invincible arms of Cæsar, and the power of the whole Roman empire; against which attack, he would be unable to make the slightest resistance; that he already, as far as it was in his power, had complied with his obligations to Pompey, by wishing that he might be victorious; but now that Cæsar had won the day, he ought to attach himself to the conqueror, and endeavour to court his favour, by taking away the life of Pompey; that pursuing the medium, of neither receiving
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nor destroying him, would be the worst resolution they could take, for that by such a determination, they would lose the useful without attaining the honest; that Cæsar would always look upon him as an enemy, who having had it in his power, should neglect to destroy his rival, altho' all the rest of the world should regard him as ungrateful, for refusing to protect his benefactor. It was also suggested, that it would not be difficult to assign a religious motive for destroying Pompey, and to cover the cruelty of the action under that pretence; for it might be alledged, that he was sacrificed to the goddess of Fortune, who had already declared herself adverse to the unhappy hero; that this sacrifice seemed not only to be dictated by religion, but justice also; for that protecting Pompey under such circumstances, in the kingdom of Egypt, and in the manner he wished, would infallibly, by provoking the indignation of Cæsar, bring on it ruin and desolation, and that he ought therefore to be proceeded against with fire and sword, as against an avowed enemy of the state.

LI. I ask now, if Nicholas Machiavel, placed at the ear of the king of Egypt in that conjuncture, and under the like circumstances, could have said more? Thus there always were Machiavels, and they were always pernicious and did mischief, when concerned in the administration of public affairs, not only to the
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people at large, but most commonly to the princes themselves, whose exaltation or security they endeavoured to promote, by the practice and adoption of impious and cruel maxims.

LII. I believe, that although all who read the relation we have just been discussing, will abominate the advice of Theodotus, as base, tyrannical, violent, inhuman, and atrocious; there are many of those who attend to nothing but temporal convenience, will think it salutary; but observe, that instead of this, it was extremely hurtful and injurious. They perpetrated the murder of the great Pompey, by adding to the act of cruelty, another of treachery, which was coaxing him to come ashore, by an assurance, that the king had engaged his royal word that his life should be safe. What was the result of all this? That Ptolemy obtained the hoped for friendship of Cæsar? That Theodotus, Aquilas, and Photinus, were rewarded for the great service they had done him, by freeing him for ever from the apprehension of so formidable an enemy as Pompey? No, nothing of this sort fell out in consequence of the base act; but it happened, that in a few days after, Ptolemy in a most tragical manner, lost his kingdom and his life, and that the three authors and executors of the murder of Pompey, Theodotus, Aquilas, and Photinus, died miserably; which consequences are produced either
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by impious maxims tending naturally to bring on misfortunes, or by the interposition of the Supreme Providence, who superintends and watches over human affairs, and with an especial design, fulminates his wrath, on the authors of such wickedness, in a manner that serves to make them scarecrows to terrify, as well as examples to warn others.

S E C T. XIII.

LIII. I am fully persuaded, that if the case on which the council of king Ptolemy deliberated, had been referred to the politicians of our Europe, and in our age, that not one of them would have advised the putting to death of Pompey; but it is likely there would have been very few of them so generous, as to recommend the receiving and protecting him. In truth, although not only generous, but hazardous resolutions, may be appendages to the punctilios of princes, and may spring from that source, they are very rarely suggested to them by their counsellors. Thus, if a point of this sort was to be discussed by the council of a king now-a-days, the consideration of the danger of protecting Pompey on the one hand, and the scandal of sacrificing him to the resentment of Cæsar on the other, would most probably have determined them to pursue the middle way, of nei-

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ther entertaining nor injuring him, and would have left to his own election, the choice of another asylum, and to his fortune, the good or bad exit from his troubles; nor do I doubt, but that in the court of Ptolemy there were some, and possibly the major part of this opinion. Notwithstanding this, if I had been a member of that council, I should have given my vote for the most benign, not only as the most honest, but the most useful and beneficial resolve they could have fallen upon; and I even think, it would have had great weight with the king, if any one of those who assisted at it, had recommended to him the protection of Pompey, for the reasons, supported with some such arguments as follow, which altogether I shall call

A declamation on behalf of Pompey.

LIV. Whoever tells you, sir, that from an apprehension of Cæsar, you should destroy Pompey, would persuade you to fear men more than the gods. I will suppose Cæsar to be so unjust, as to be capable of thanking you for putting Pompey to death, and of being irritated against you for not doing it. This same act of flattery to Cæsar, is so palpable an offence against heaven, that he who advises you to it, cannot possibly entertain a doubt of its being such; for if he should tell you, that by such a conduct you would conform to the will of the gods, who have declared themselves

themselves favourable to Cæsar, he would advance a sophistry unworthy to be heard in so august and solemn an assembly; for what delirium is it to imagine, that we may continue to oppress those, who groan under the weight of adverse fortune, upon a pretence, of co-operating with the Supreme Providence? According to this mode of reasoning, it would be right to give a sick man poison instead of medicine, instead of binding up the sores of the wounded, to cut and stab him afresh, and instead of succouring the poor, to take from him the little he has. The gods are able to make people unhappy, for this is a prerogative annexed to their sovereign power, which they sometimes exert, by way of exercising the patience and constancy of those they afflict, and with a view of affording to others an opportunity of manifesting their clemency, and of administering to the misfortunes of the distressed. Thus he who lends a compassionate hand to assist those whom the gods have thought fit to make unhappy, does not counteract their dispensations, but rather shews a compliance with, and an obedience to, the immutable principles of their laws.

LV. To insinuate to you, in order to make Pompey a delinquent, that by seeking an asylum here, he sought the ruin of your kingdom, amounts to the same thing, as saying he meditates

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burning the temple, who from the fury of his enemies, takes refuge at the altars of it. Pompey does not pretend to compel, but only intreats you ; neither in his intreaty, does he point out the bounds to which you should extend your protection to him ; nor although he should point them out, could any consequences be deduced from thence to your disadvantage ; for that can't take away from you, neither now, nor at any time after he shall have put himself into your hands, the right of deliberating upon, and after a just estimation of your power, your obligation, and your risk, determining to act by him, as the urgency of your affairs may make it necessary. Furthermore, if you reflect, you will find that he has a right to demand your protection, although it may be dangerous for you to afford it him. You owe to him the sceptre you now sway, which he restored to your father ; nor is the probable hazard of the same crown, which was certainly restored to you, an adequate recompence to the man who restored it.

LVI. Having hitherto endeavoured to shew, that it would be just and right to protect Pompey ; my next argument shall be to prove, that it would be convenient and advantageous also, although I am very well aware, that in the eyes
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of an ordinary politician, this will appear an extravagant paradox.

LVII. I shall begin with asking, what opinion ought we to entertain of Cæsar, to think that he would look with benign eyes, and a grateful heart, on a horrible act of perfidy, although it was committed to disincumber him of that enemy, who has already disputed, and may perhaps contend again with him for the empire? It seems to me, sir, that this is the light in which it is laboured to represent Cæsar to you; but if he truly is not such a sort of man, the treachery which Theodotus proposes to you, will be very useless; but I will add, that although he is that sort of man, you will not avoid, but rather augment the danger of losing your crown, by being guilty of it. If Cæsar is blinded by the passion of ambition to such an extreme degree, that it would excite him, for the sake of gratifying it, to trample every sort of duty and obligation under foot; this vile piece of service, will not exempt or protect you from his despoiling you of your kingdom; his ambition, if this is his only idol, will prompt him to extend his dominion by all possible ways and means, whether just or unjust; and the opulent kingdom of Egypt, is not so contemptible an acquisition, that an ambitious man will forbear to seize

it, for the sake of rewarding a perfidious one with its possession.

LVIII. The worst is, that by following the advice of Theodotus, you will furnish Cæsar with a specious pretence for usurping your kingdom; and therefore I say, that so far from avoiding the danger of losing it, by adopting his plan, you would increase the risk. That Cæsar is very sagacious and penetrating, is well known to all the world; and although he might be glad to hear that Pompey was put to death, after the deed was executed, he would affect to lament it. He, in appearance at least, would detest the treachery of receiving Pompey into Egypt, under a promise of security upon the royal word, for the purpose of taking away his life. From this equivocal or critical state of Cæsar's mind, there might be but a short transition to his taking the resolution of depriving you of your crown, and perhaps your life also. He might do it for the sake of gratifying his ambition, and endeavouring to persuade the world, that he was actuated by no other motive than that of punishing the treacherous murderer of Pompey; and although he might foresee, the Romans would never believe that this was his motive; he well knows they would applaud the action, as they idolized Pompey while living, and will adore his memory when dead. Other nations,

tions, who on account of their being less penetrating, may not see into the artful policy of Cæsar, will only contemplate in your ruin, a punishment correspondent to your crime, and will admire the heroic justice of Cæsar, who chastised the wicked act, although the commission of it was never so convenient to him. Consider, sir, whether Cæsar will lose so fine an opportunity of flattering the Roman people, of recommending himself to the world for a just man, and of adding to the Imperial crown he is fabricating, the precious gem of this kingdom.

LIX. We know that Cæsar, in all his actions and designs, has proposed to himself Alexander of Macedon as the only example he would wish to imitate. We are informed, that having in a temple of Spain, seen a statue of that hero, it raised in his imagination a contemplation of his glory, and caused him to shed tears of envy. Attend now, sir, to what I am about to say to you. Immediately after Darius was defeated by Alexander in the battle of Arbella, that unhappy king, who was become a fugitive from the conqueror, was treacherously murdered by Bessus the governor of Bactria, who thought by putting him to death, that he should gain the favour of Alexander. But what followed? Why, that Alexander caused him to be arrested, and torn to

pieces by his own immediate order as some tell us, or as others say, delivered him to Oxathres the brother of Darius, to be dealt with as he thought proper. Consider, sir, how great an affinity there is between the battles of Arabella and Pharsalia, between the fortunes of Pompey and Darius, and between the genius and tempers of Cæsar and Alexander. How much is it to be dreaded, that if you act by Pompey, as Bessus did by Darius, that Cæsar will do by you, as Alexander did by Bessus? He will find himself precisely in the same circumstances of Alexander, and will, without doubt, be strangely flattered with the idea of imitating him, and especially in an action, which he knows was applauded by all the world. We find ourselves also in the city of Alexandria, which was founded by, and took its name from, Alexander; and even this circumstance, may contribute to augment your danger, because, if ever he should think fit to visit this city, it would revive in his imagination the idea of its founder.

LX. I very well know, that although Cæsar should be the man we have hitherto supposed him, still the protection of Pompey is not free from danger. The Roman legions, in search of this illustrious fugitive, will naturally present themselves to our imagination, destroying with warlike fury, the country that harbours him.

But

But if in whatever course we pursue, we must unavoidably encounter rocks and quicksands, what does human prudence dictate in such a case? Why, that we should do what's right and just, and leave the event to the disposal of the gods. It is beyond a doubt, that the power of Cæsar is great; but his fortune is no less dependant on heaven than ours, and the ray of Jupiter pays no more respect to the proud palace, than to the humble cabin. Thus those to whom heaven is most propitious, are likely to be most successful.

LXI. Nor need we depend solely for our security on the special providence of the gods, as we have resources in the ordinary course of human events, and in the common influence of second causes. Cæsar is yet at a great distance, and as he will have much to settle both in Italy and Greece, in order to secure the fruits of his late victory, it will be probably some time before he will find himself at leisure to visit Egypt. During that interval, we may be employed in modeling and disciplining our troops; they are not few in number, and we may add new recruits to them; and to make the Egyptian troops equal to the best in the world, nothing more is necessary, than that they should be properly trained, and commanded by a good general; because when we had such a one in the person of our famous Sesostris,

Sesostris, they conquered and triumphed over the principal regions of Asia, as the ruins of the columns that prince erected, and which time has thrown down, testify. Nobody disputes Pompey's being, if not the greatest soldier in the world, at least equal to the greatest. His victories have acquired him the epithet of great, which is a title Cæsar never attained. We have then in him, the general we want; nor ought his reputation to be lessened by the victory Cæsar lately obtained over him; for besides his commanding a motley army, collected from, and composed of various nations, he was but little or ill obeyed in that war; and this is an evil, for which we have a remedy in our own power, by committing the whole military government to the discretion and direction of Pompey. If he finds himself not in a condition or situation to attack with a prospect of victory, he will stand on the defensive, and preserve his troops, which is the conduct he wished to have pursued in Greece. We may also hope for many advantages from time; in the interval of our recess, succours may arrive to Pompey from all the world; for the whole Roman empire, except the troops immediately in his pay, are enemies to Cæsar; and although we should not be able to assemble an army, capable of resisting Cæsar, his success will not be quite certain. The whole Roman republic which commands the world,

world, groans with affliction, under the intolerable sensation, occasioned by the suppression of their liberty; and it would be very extraordinary, if among the millions of people of which it is composed, there should not be found some one desperate enough, to sacrifice his own life, for the sake of redeeming his country. Every man who arrives at despising, or setting no value on his own life, may have that of Cæsar in his power; for one concealed poignard, or one disguised dose of poison administered at his table, would be more dangerous and fatal to him, than fifty thousand lances in the open field. The instances of Romans, who have offered themselves voluntary victims to the idol of fame, or the good of their country, are numerous; and perhaps Cæsar at this time, has some one near his person, waiting for an opportunity to repeat the same sacrifice.

LXII. There remains to us also another crutch of hope whereon to rest, that is, the unwholesomeness of our climate. The air of Egypt, which is very unsalutary to the natives, is much more so to strangers. The soldiers of Cæsar were born under, and have served in climates, which were very different from ours. How natural then is it to suppose, that by being detained some time in this country, the visitation of an epidemical disorder, may either demolish or incapacitate them.

LXIII.

LXIII. If by all, or any of these means, which are very probable ones, you should be enabled to protect and preserve Pompey, you would make yourself, sir, the most glorious prince in the world. The Romans would adore you, as the vindicator and defender of their liberty, and would look upon this kingdom, as the only temple which has afforded sanctuary to, and preserved their idol. Other nations will applaud your generous gratitude, and seeing how faithfully you have behaved to your benefactor, there is no prince whatever, who won't be ready and desirous to render you his services. What you may expect from Pompey, is not in my power to express, nor in my imagination to conceive.

LXIV. But admitting, sir, that these well founded hopes should be frustrated, and that heaven should continue to prosper the arms of Cæsar, that fortune should regulate the motions of its inconstant wheel, so as that it shall always turn in his favour; that we should see the Roman legions batter down the walls of Alexandria, and afterwards be witnesses to the demolition of those of Memphis, and behold all the other cities of Lower Egypt in danger of being destroyed; and that in consequence of this, we find ourselves under an absolute necessity of capitulating with Cæsar;
which

which is the greatest difficulty and distress, to which we can be driven by fortune ; but please to observe, sir, that although you should be reduced to this necessity, you would even then find your affairs in a better state, than there is any probability of your finding them, provided you follow the advice that has been given you by Theodotus. Cæsar would require you to deliver up Pompey, and it is most likely would offer you in return, the restitution of all he has conquered ; for the whole country that is inundated by the Nile, is of little value to him, compared to the possession of a person, who by a thousand accidents, might have it in his power to overturn his whole empire. You might then make this exchange, and remain master of your kingdom, and might justify yourself to all the world, by pleading the hard law of necessity as an excuse for what you did. But what infatuation, what madness would it be, sir, for you to persuade yourself, that it would be right at this time to put Pompey treacherously to death, without more advantage to yourself, than what you might obtain hereafter, by delivering him up without infamy ? I have said without more advantage, and I ought to add to it with greater danger. If you commit so base an action, it is probable that Cæsar, either from motives of virtue, or excited to it by hypocrisy, will punish you severely. If you think him gene-
rous,

rous, you must conclude that he will be extremely irritated against you, both for your cruelty, and your ingratitude, and because you offered him a provoking indignity, by supposing him capable of accepting a treachery for a compliment; and because also, you deprived him of a precious opportunity, of manifesting his clemency to Pompey in distress. If you consider him only as an ambitious and profound politician, you may suppose he will act the same part from motives of dissimulation, that he would have acted from motives of generosity, and to gain credit with the world, would treat you as a delinquent. You will have none of this to apprehend, when forced to it by necessity, you find yourself obliged to deliver up Pompey, because in this last case, the reasons for treating you in the manner we have just been describing will not exist, and because also, it was never known, that Cæsar failed to preserve the faith of his engagements, or that he treated with cruelty, those he had vanquished.

LXV. Nor should we omit, that Cæsar's good opinion of your personal conduct to Pompey, may co-operate with his virtue, and have an influence on his policy. Cæsar is not ignorant, that you have always been well affected to Pompey and his cause, and when Cæsar finds Pompey has perished by your hands, he will readily conclude, that

that you would have dealt the same treatment to him, and with a better will, provided the victor had been the vanquished. Consider now, what sort of an opinion Cæsar must entertain of you, when he reflects, that your not committing the same treachery by him, is owing to his fortune, and not your good-will, but that in spite of your malevolent disposition, his fortune has insured his safety.

LXVI. The arguments, sir, with which I have proved, that without attending to the justice of the case, it was more for your interest to protect than to destroy Pompey, will serve to prove, that it will be more beneficial to you to entertain him, than to send him away. The sending him away, will not oblige Cæsar, and will offend Pompey, and will also make you appear ungrateful in the eyes of the whole world. Pompey driven from this coast, will become a wanderer by sea and by land, in search of some safe hole or corner, wherein to hide himself, till the desperation of one, or the conspiracy of many, shall deprive Cæsar of his life; and in all probability, it will not be long, before this contingent happens. If this event should fall out, Pompey would then be master in much greater security than he ever was, of all that Cæsar at present enjoys. Consider now, if this should ever be the case, what you would have

have reason to expect from his hands for driving him out of your kingdom, after he had fixed the crown on the head of your father. Cæsar while he rules, as he is not ignorant that you are disaffected to him, will always consider you as an enemy, who only wants power or resolution to act openly as such. The service of your abandoning Pompey, will not oblige him, and will debase you, for he can't fail to see clearly, that you did it through fear. His dislike to you will continue, and you will add to it, his contempt and disesteem.

LXVII. Further, if you receive and entertain Pompey benignly, you may in consequence of doing it, give yourself credit to a certain amount, for having both Pompey and Cæsar in some degree under your influence : Pompey in virtue of having him within your dominions, and Cæsar, because he would be disposed to grant you very advantageous conditions, to prevail on you to deliver Pompey up. But I would not have it understood, that I mean to recommend this, as what you ought to do; for my opinion is, that you should absolutely risk every thing to preserve Pompey, because you owe every thing to him. This is what true virtue dictates; but the predicament we are in at present, is that of consulting and considering the reasons of state and policy, for receiving Pompey
with

with a determination of defending him, and at the same time not to extend that defence so far as to endanger the loss of your kingdom. It is true, this would not be doing enough to entitle you to the applause of the world as a generous man; but it would be sufficient to prevent your being condemned as an unjust one. You would save your honour, and not neglect your interest; and the judgment of heaven, with respect to such a conduct, would coincide with that of the world. Pompey would find himself under great obligations to you. Cæsar might perhaps be irritated against you; but these emotions of his anger, would soon give way to his own convenience, and even to yours. If the gods, as they are able to do, should prosper our arms under the command of Pompey, all the world will respect your person, your virtue, and your power; and in spite of all Cæsar can do, after you have sustained all these losses, which will be sufficient to excuse your conduct in the eye of the world, you will at last, by delivering up Pompey, be able to repair all your damage.

LXVIII. This speech appeared to me proper to introduce here, not only for the entertainment of the reader, but for his benefit and caution also; for having in this discourse set forth so many maxims and examples of tyrannic policy, I

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was

was apprehensive, that some people of weak understandings, might persuade themselves it would be convenient and useful to practise them, if I did not at the same time, together with the poison, administer the antidote, and shew by such an example, that the violent expedients which Machiavelianism proposes as convenient, are in general hurtful and pernicious, or at least insecure and not to be relied on, and that in the very cases in which they are represented to be necessary, there are others that might be hit upon, which would answer the purpose much better, and which would admit of reconciling the useful with the honest, provided there is an upright will to adopt them, and a clear understanding to search out and apply them; so that what they call refined policy, is nothing more than a political dross or scum, and the production of gross geniuses, who don't search deeper than the superficies of things. The Machiavelians, seldom attend to more than the immediate effect of the blow their malice meditates, without reflecting, that the political machine is many times disposed to move in such a variety of directions, that it often runs back on, and crushes him who first set it in motion. I have said before, and I repeat it again, that the instances of perverse politicians who have been happy for any length of time, are very few, and that those few, have seldom been blessed with more than a transient ray

ray of the splendor of fortune, but have been almost all shipwrecked by a sudden change of the wind, when they thought themselves sailing on with a favourable gale, and in the most prosperous manner. What infatuation then is it, to pursue a course, where all the rocks in the track of it, are stained with the blood of unhappy sufferers? Or who, with any reasonable expectation of success, can hope to make his fortune, by following and adopting the maxims of Machiavel, knowing the author of them lived poor and despised, and died miserable and abhorred? Perhaps this impious politician, may be not improperly compared to the unhappy Phlegyas described by Virgil, who was not undeceived, till his being convinced of the delusion he had been under could be of no service to him, and who with bitter expressions of lamentation, and in a hideous tone of voice, proclaimed the error of his detestable maxims, to the whole miserable group of the damned:

——— *Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes*

Admonet, & magna testatur voce per umbras:

Discite justitiam, moniti, & non temnere Divos.

F I N I S.

